A HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN B.C. 55–A.D. 1603

MOWAT

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A NEW HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

BY

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PART I

FROM THE ROMAN CONQUEST TO THE DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

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PREFACE

THE story of England has been written many times; and as one new history follows another, doubt is sometimes expressed concerning the need for yet one more. Nevertheless, if new text-books were never written, both teaching and learning would soon become stereotyped. It is true that the facts remain the same, but the current views about them vary almost from year to year. The old text-books contained a strictly political view of history: they chronicled the births and deaths of kings, the battles and the sieges, the beheadings of favourites and traitors, and the statutes passed by Parliament. The nineteenth century produced histories on a grand scale, such as those written by Macaulay, Froude, Freeman, Gardiner, and Lecky; these, which dealt only with special periods of English History, had comparatively little effect upon the text-books. The best account of English History, as a whole, was that written by John Lingard, a Catholic priest, whose last volume appeared in 1830. Lingard's work comprised eight volumes, and was written in a philosophical manner and with strict attention to contemporary sources. There was, however, no single-volume History of England which conformed to this standard of scholarship, and which gave to social and economic movements the same attention as to campaigns and constitutional changes, till John Richard Green wrote his *Short History of the English*

People in 1874. This book, which at once sprang into extraordinary popularity, has become a classic ; it is a work of genius, and still stands unrivalled for its literary beauty, its imaginativeness, its sympathetic rendering of the past.

Green, like every one else who tries to compress the story of England into one volume, had to take a selective view ; for instance, he emphasized, in some centuries, literary history, in others, social. There are many gaps in his narrative, due to the imperative need of compression ; and to these gaps we owe his singularly full treatment of other parts of our history. The *Short History* was not a complete statement : it was not meant to be such ; but it is the account of what struck a man who possessed both knowledge and genius, as being the most important aspects of English History.

It is because any ' short history ' of the English people must be selective in its method, that there will always be room for another. Moreover, fresh light is continually being thrown by research on almost every subject in the past. It is the duty of teachers to-day to keep abreast of these developments ; and the text-books must be correspondingly up to date. Further, with the changing conditions of modern life, the emphasis of teaching must be modified. The facts remain always the same, but the educational value which they offer varies from period to period. In the reign of Queen Victoria it was necessary for a well-educated man to know much about the development of the Constitution, and something concerning foreign affairs, and the Empire and the social development of the English

people; but now the orientation of people's minds is not quite the same as it was. Constitutional affairs still bulk largely, as do also military affairs; but in addition a deeper knowledge of economics and social history, a closer touch with imperial development, and a more detailed acquaintance with foreign policy, are now necessary for every boy or young man who wishes to understand the trend of English life to-day, and to take his part in it.

I have tried to bear all this in mind in writing a short History of England; to give a continuous account of the life of the English nation, dealing fully with all those aspects of it that are still with us, so that for those who read it the past may throw light on the present and the present on the past. I have endeavoured, as much as space permitted, to let the past speak for itself, through the written words of those who were themselves spectators and actors. I have not tried, in any sense, to 'write down' to the minds of young people. The 'simple' language of many text-books is quite artificial; in the schools, just as much as at the University, teachers do not talk to their pupils in exaggeratedly simple language, but in the words of educated men, putting aside technicalities and pedantry; and so in this book I have written, so far as I can, the ordinary literary English, which every careful teacher uses and which boys and undergraduates understand. The youth of England are ardent, unselfish, quick to notice the nobler side of life; and I have tried to write of the past in a way that is worthy of them.

R. B. MOWAT.

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March 1920.

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HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

CHAPTER I

ANCIENT BRITAIN

The two types of Britons. When the British Isles first became known in history, they were inhabited, not very thickly, by various tribes, belonging to the same stock as inhabited, about the same time, the countries of France, Spain, and the Rhine valley. There were two types of ancient Britons, and their descendants may be seen any day in almost any part of the British Empire. One type was rather small, with dark or black hair and darkish complexion. The other type was tall and blond—light-haired, sunny men, with white and red skins. The dark men—the 'Iberians'—are the more ancient race, in western Europe, and came most probably from the Pyrenees, where the Basque people still preserve their ancient look and speech. The blond men, the Celts, are settlers in Europe, having arrived, through years, centuries perhaps, of wandering, from the plains and mountains of central Asia. The dark people are found now most commonly in cities, being, it seems, most suited by physique and temperament to survive amid the pressure and congestion of town life. The tall, light-complexioned men live easily in the country, but after a few generations in the town are said, in many instances, to die out.

Ancient British villages. The ancient Britons lived for the most part in villages or towns (which were only larger villages). Their huts were of wood, with roughly thatched roofs; and the whole village or township was surrounded by a palisade or prickly hedge, with perhaps a ditch, for defence against a raider. For intermittent war existed throughout the country, although, owing largely to the sparseness of inhabitants and the

density of the forests, peace was the more common condition. Sometimes, under pressure of a common danger, a number of tribes would join together under one leader, but as a rule each tribe lived separately under its own chief, or even chieftainess.

The natural tracks used by Britons. The country in all the lower parts was covered with forest or swamp; therefore all the most used tracks ran along the high country, the 'down' land, especially the chalk ridges of the south of England, where no rivers interrupted the way, where the short tender grass gave good pasture for the sheep, and where the fleet horses of the richer Britons could draw the rough chariots at a brisk trot over the firm close turf. To this day these natural roads, these ridgeways, can be seen on the Downs, together with the dew-ponds, the shallow, shelving, perfectly circular hollows, about thirty feet in diameter, which, collecting moisture from the air, are never dry, and still afford water to the down-country flocks.

Occupations of the Britons. The British lived, as a rule, in clearings in the forests, or on islands, like London, amid the almost trackless waste of a marshy valley. They hunted, they kept sheep, and they grew a little poor wheat. Though far below the Romans in material wealth, they were not mere savages. The hides and tin of Britain were taken by Phoenician traders to the Mediterranean countries.

Religion of the Britons. The British had some knowledge of their own history, kept alive by their priests, the Druids, who committed stories to memory and passed them on from generation to generation. Their religion, however, had much that was savage about it. Amid some things that were attractive, such as a fanciful respect for the mistletoe as a sacred plant which only the Druids could cut, amid perhaps harmless superstitions, according to which the groves of the forests were the abodes of various known spirits, good and evil, there was also the monstrous and malevolent practice of human sacrifice; and many a man soiled by crime, many too, it must be feared, prisoners of war, had their bodies tortured

with cumbrous instruments of cruelty before they expired upon the sacrificial stones of Anglesey and Stonehenge.

Invasions of the Romans. Such is the account of Britain to be gathered from the ancient writings that are left, chiefly from remarks and descriptions in the *Commentaries* of Julius

Caesar and the *Agricola* of Tacitus. It was because the southern British gave aid to the kindred tribes in Gaul, during the Gallic Wars of Rome, that Caesar invaded Britain in 55 and 54 B.C.

We are accustomed to think of our country as an inviolate isle, but the truth is that until the time of the Normans it was invaded many times. The earliest invasions of which

there is written evidence were made by the Belgae, who inhabited north-eastern France and Belgium. Many of these tribesmen, Caesar was informed by their kinsmen in Gaul, had settled in Britain. Caesar's first expedition, consisting of only 7,000–8,000 men, started probably from Boulogne. The time of sailing was just after midnight on August 26, 55 B.C. At 9 a.m. next morning the ships found themselves below the high chalk cliffs of Dover, and the soldiers could see the Britons on the top of the cliffs ready to slay with their darts any stranger who landed on the beach below. Sailing along the coast, Caesar made a landing on the flat shores between Walmer and Deal.[1] The landing would never have taken place, for the British with their war-chariots held the shore in great strength, and even the veteran legionaries were aghast; but the standard-bearer of the Tenth Legion threw himself into the water, crying: 'Leap down, soldiers, unless you would betray the eagle to the enemy. I at least will do my duty to the Republic and to my general.' Thus encouraged, the rest of the soldiers followed, and the Britons were driven back. For about three weeks Caesar remained in Britain, continually attacked by the natives and in continual danger. The ships which were coming to reinforce him from Gaul were all wrecked in a storm. After gathering as much information as he could about the country, he was glad to get back safely to Gaul.

Next spring, 54 B.C., Caesar invaded Britain with a much larger force—five legions and a body of cavalry, in all 15,000–20,000 men. A landing was made at the same place as in the previous year, and, after constructing a strong camp to serve as a base, he advanced inland. Somewhere in Kent he fought a hard battle with the Britons who were acting under Cassivellaunus, chief of the Catuvellauni, the inhabitants of the region north of the Thames—Essex, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex. Successful in this battle, Caesar found that he had to fight his way across the Thames; this he did at a ford,

[1] See Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, iv. 23 (edited by T. Rice Holmes, Oxford, 1914), note on § 6.

which may be Coway Stakes, at the mouth of the Wey, in Surrey. But the indomitable Cassivellaunus had another stroke ready ; he had sent a strong body of men to attack Caesar's base on the coast. This attack was beaten off, but Caesar saw that it would take years to reduce an enemy of this kind. He had probably only come to teach the Britons a lesson, to make them respect the Roman power. He had, no doubt, also hoped to get much booty, and in this he was disappointed, for he makes no mention of booty in his account. So after imposing tribute on Cassivellaunus (which so far as is known was never paid), he withdrew his army to Gaul.

The activities of Julius Caesar were soon to be transferred from Gaul, which he had brought completely under Roman sway, to Italy, Spain, and Egypt. In the rest of his wonderful career, which was to end with his becoming lord of the whole civilized world and with his assassination almost at the same time, he can have had little thought of the far-away island which once attracted his eager desire for knowledge.[1] The invasions of 55 and 54 B.C. had little if any effect on British history, except that the name of Caesar has been made thereby more familiar to the youth of England than any other Roman ; and it was perhaps on this account that the tremendous story of his life and death attracted the genius of Shakespeare, and gave us that wonderful play. Shakespeare, however, says nothing about the invasions of 55 and 54 B.C. in *Julius Caesar*, just as in his play of *Cymbeline* (a name taken from Cunobelinus, the son of Cassivellaunus) he says little of ancient Britain.

It was not till A.D. 43 that a real attempt at conquest was made. In this year, Aulus Plautius, a general of the Roman army of occupation in Gaul, was sent with four legions to undertake the conquest of Britain. The chief British ruler at this time was Caractacus, son of Cunobelinus. In spite of

[1] Caesar's account of Britain and of his invasions are in the *De Bello Gallico*, iv and v. The whole of this fascinating work has been fully elucidated in Mr. Rice Holmes's edition.

a brave and obstinate resistance made by a body of federated tribes under this great chief, Aulus Plautius, who, shortly after the invasion began, was joined by the Emperor Claudius himself, subdued the greater part of England. For over three hundred and fifty years, till the year 410, Southern Britain was a Roman province.

PLAN OF A ROMAN TOWN IN BRITAIN.[1]

Britain as a Roman province. Rome during this period had a great colonial empire, and governed its 'provinces' with care and efficiency. The province of Britain soon showed the effects of the Roman occupation, effects which are by no means obliterated to this day. Roads were made, bridges built, towns planted, schools were established, and finally Christianity was introduced. The numerous towns which still have 'chester' in their name—Manchester, Col-

[1] Based on plans by Sir William Hope.

chester, and so forth—recall the Roman occupation. Only that part of Great Britain which extended up to the Forth and Clyde felt the beneficent influence of the Romans. The rest of Scotland, and also Ireland and the other isles, were practically untouched.

The governor of Great Britain was always some distinguished Roman general. Under him were the garrison com-

ROMAN TESSELLATED PAVEMENT AT SILCHESTER.

manders and various civil officials, who dealt out justice and administered the districts into which the country was divided. The Britons lived on in their tribal communities, ruled, under the Roman authority, by their own chiefs. Thus the native British civilization continued to exist, developed, but not superseded, by Roman ideas and improvements. The actual number of Romans who settled in the country was very small. The civil officials and high officers returned to Italy at the end of their period of service, but numbers of the soldiers married in the country, and became ' Romano-Britons '.

The Roman army of occupation consisted of three legions, in all about 10,000 men, with about the same number of auxiliary, that is, lighter armed troops. The Roman legions, like the regiments of the British Army, were known according to their corps number, and round this number history and associations gathered in the course of time. The same legions were always kept in Britain, the XXth at Chester, the XIVth at Wroxeter, the IInd 'Augusta' at Caerleon, the IXth at London.[1] They were mainly recruited abroad, in Gaul, Spain, Italy, Greece, and, except when fighting, spent all their life in the garrison town, living with their wives (who might be British women) in cottages, on the pieces of land which the Roman Government allotted to them. Smaller companies of soldiers were stationed in various parts of the country, especially in the guard-houses along the great Roman Wall.

The high Roman officers and civilians, as well as the most civilized and wealthy of the Britons, lived in villas—substantial large houses, one story high, made of brick, with beautiful tiled floors, bath-room, and furnace for heating all the rooms centrally. In the country districts, a small estate cleared from the forest went with the villa, and tenants, the poorer British, cultivated the owner's land along with their own plots. Only foundations of those villas are left, but of these whole streets can be traced, for instance, at Silchester, near Reading, or Corbridge, on the Tyne near Hexham.

The rebellion under Boadicea. The legions, naturally, had fighting to do, when necessary; for instance, in the rebellion (A.D. 61) of Boudicca, or Boadicea, the 'queen', or chieftainess, of the Iceni; or in the campaign of Agricola into Scotland, north of the Forth, which ended with the assertion of Roman supremacy at the Battle of Mons Graupius (A.D. 84).

[1] The IXth legion, however, was destroyed in the rebellion of Boadicea, in A.D. 61.

The rebellion of Boadicea is known from the splendid account given by Tacitus in the *Annals*, and also in the *Agricola*. Under the Governor Suetonius Paullinus, the Roman officials had been allowed to oppress the people; and the British warrior-queen, who, according to Tacitus, had herself felt the weight of the Roman rods, was able to rouse her countrymen against the Romans.

'Nothing is now safe from their avarice, nothing from their lust. In war it is the strong who plunders; now, it is for the most part by cowards and poltroons that our homes are rifled, our children torn from us, the conscription enforced, as though it were for our country alone that we could not die.'[1]

The revolt of the Iceni occurred when Suetonius was in North Wales, where he had defeated the British in Anglesey and broken up the centre of Druid worship there. The Britons in the east rose, cut to pieces the Ninth Legion near Colchester, and sacked this town (which was called Colonia Camulodunum) and London. Meanwhile, however, Suetonius had come racing back along Watling Street from Anglesey, and in a great battle, fought near the site of the last, by Camulodunum, the Britons were finally overthrown. Boadicea put an end to her life by poison.[2]

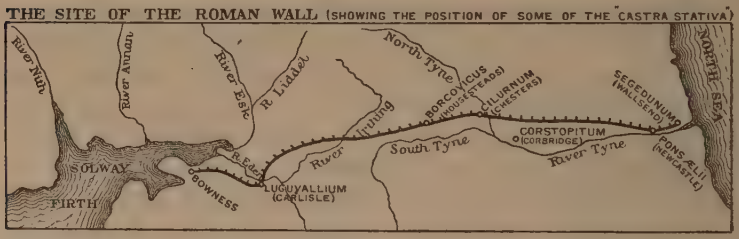
In the years 83 and 84 the great Roman Governor Agricola made campaigns in North Britain, and in the latter year overthrew the Caledonian chief Galgacus at Mons Graupius, probably in Forfarshire. That same summer his ships sailed as far as the Orkneys. He planned also an invasion of Ireland, but had not time to carry it out. 'I have often heard him say', writes Tacitus, 'that a single legion with a few auxiliaries could conquer and occupy Ireland.'[3]

Roman roads. But the normal condition of the province was peace, and the soldiers were employed for the greater part of their time in making roads. Magnificent highways were

[1] Tacitus, *Agricola*, 15 (trans. Church and Brodribb).
[2] 'Boudicca vitam veneno finivit,' Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 37.
[3] Tac. *Agric.* 24.

constructed throughout the entire length of the marshy forested province, along routes which are practically followed to-day by the great highroads of England, for instance, from London to York, to Chester, to Bath. These roads were splendidly engineered, and can still in many places be traced, driven directly over the hills and along the ridges, either to command a prospect on all possible sides against enemies, or in order to avoid the water-courses.

Roman Walls. The walls which the Romans built were a great feature of the northern part of the province. Roman Britain suffered from inroads by the Picts, a people of small



stature but of great vigour, who inhabited the greater part of Scotland. In A.D. 80 the Roman governor and general, Agricola, had built a Wall from the Forth to the Clyde. But this did not prove sufficient. In the year 120, Hadrian, one of the few emperors who came in person to Britain, had the great Wall made from the Tyne to the Solway Firth. The Wall was really a great earthen rampart, with stone towers or guardhouses at intervals all along the line. Companies of soldiers held the guardhouses, and maintained a continuous watch from end to end. Considerable portions of the Roman Walls still remain.

Britain becomes Christian. For the first two centuries after Christ, the religion of the province was the worship of the Roman gods. Druidism gradually disappeared among the Britons, and temples were built for the Roman divinities. Christianity was not officially recognized in the Roman Empire

till A.D. 323. By the year 304, when St. Alban was made a martyr at Verulamium (the modern St. Albans), Christianity had spread to Britain, and, although very few details of its progress are known, it gradually spread over the whole province. The Britons received the new doctrines; and although,

REMAINS OF THE GREAT ROMAN WALL.

during the Anglo-Saxon invasions, paganism was re-introduced, the Christian faith never died out in the island.

The end of the Roman Occupation. In the third century the Empire suffered from disputed successions to the throne; the legionaries in Italy, in Gaul, in Britain even, took to 'emperor making'. The unity of the Empire was destroyed and its strength enfeebled. At the same time the Picts were assailing the Wall of Hadrian with ever-increasing violence, and the seafaring pirates, the Saxons, from the mouths of the Elbe and the Oder in Germany, were continually

crossing the North Sea and harrying the coasts. Assailed by enemies without, and distracted by civil war within, the Imperial Government was unable to maintain its more extended frontiers. From the year 410 no more Roman soldiers were sent to Britain, and the 'Roman-Britons' were left to their own devices, and to the ravages of the Saxon rovers.

Britain after the withdrawal of the Romans. The Roman occupation of Britain may in many respects be compared with the British rule in India. The Romans gave the blessings of peace and order in a country where many separate peoples had quarrelled and fought before. They put down barbarous rites, the bloody practice of human sacrifice, as the British in India abolished suttee, the burning of widows upon their husband's pyre. They made roads, and took steps to clear the forest and drain the marshland. They introduced education, improved the breed of cattle, and provided increased opportunities for careers in the Roman service. The evacuation of Britain by the Romans gave opportunity again for internal wars, and for foreign attack and spoliation. Something of Roman culture survived for a time, but in sixty years the greater part of it disappeared, and the Britons became the suffering victims of a cruel and predatory people. The forest and marsh again covered the land, and desolation reigned in places which had blossomed with the flowers of peace. War and starvation, the groans of strong men, the wailing of women, and the anguished cries of innocent little children, are what may be gathered from the pages of Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as the consequence of the loss of the 'Roman Peace'.

A JUTE BROOCH.

CHAPTER II

THE ANGLO-SAXON CONQUEST

A comparison of the Roman and Saxon Conquests of Britain. The Romans had not occupied Britain through lust for territory, but simply through the inevitable extension of a strong, orderly government over the undeveloped and disorderly peoples on its frontier. The Roman rule had respected the existing system of the Britons, had not interfered with their property and local government, and had simply imposed the Roman peace and a comparatively humane civilization upon the British tribes. The Saxon conquest of Britain, on the other hand, was inspired by no other ideals than the desire for new land, for plunder, and perhaps for adventure.

A SAXON BROOCH.

Mankind progresses in strange ways. The period of the Saxon conquest was a great decline from the strength and orderliness, the justice and educative efforts, of the Roman rule. But the great days of the Romans had passed, and much of their antique virtue had been lost amid the corruptions of great cities, and with the enervating influence of slavery. Out of the welter of blood and greed, which, among many heroic episodes, still stands out as the most prominent feature of the Saxon conquest, there emerged gradually the English people, capable at its best of displaying the ancient Roman virtues, with the highest ideals, and with the simplest faith.

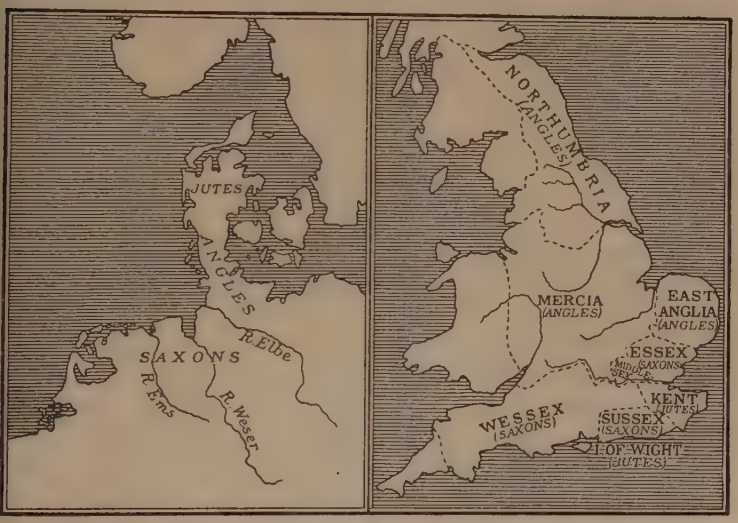
The Saxon Invasion. The usual date given for the coming of the Saxons as conquerors is 449, when a British king, Vortigern, is said to have taken a war-band, under two chiefs,

'Hengist and Horsa', into his service to fight against the Picts. Hengist and Horsa with their men occupied the Isle of Thanet. The new-comers turned their arms against the Britons and invited other war-bands to come and help. Men from three tribes in Germany came, says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, from the Saxons of the Elbe region, the Angles of Schleswig, and the Jutes of Jutland.

The settlements of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. The invaders came as conquerors, bringing, as it seems, their women and children with them, to settle on the land. They sailed across the North Sea in frail ships, not so large as a modern fishing-smack, and landed in the estuaries of rivers, and in bays of the south and east coast. The Jutes landed in Kent and the Isle of Wight, the Saxons to the north of the Thames, in Essex; other Saxons landed to the south of the Andredsweald in Sussex, and in Hampshire and Dorset. The Angles landed on the east coast, in what is now known as Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincoln, Yorkshire, and Northumberland. A hundred years of intermittent fighting followed, before three solid kingdoms were established by the invaders: Wessex, which consisted of most of England south of the Thames; Northumbria, which extended from the Humber, sometimes even from the Trent, to the Forth; and between these two, between Wessex on the south and Northumbria on the north, was Mercia, the March or Frontier land, the Midlands of England, settled by Angles, between the North Sea and the mountains of Wales. Wessex was Saxon; Mercia and Northumbria were Angle.

Resistance of the Britons. The British, living on after the departure of the Romans, in their tribal communities, seem to have remembered something of Roman discipline, as well as their native valour, and offered a persistent and fierce resistance. The raiders were old foes, and as early as 429 (nineteen years after the departure of the Romans, twenty years before the coming of 'Hengist and Horsa'), they had defeated the invaders in a battle at some unknown spot in the south of England. This victory, known as the 'Halle-

luiah Victory', was rightly considered to be a triumph of Christianity over paganism. The old British historian, Gildas, who emigrated to Brittany after the great Saxon invasions, tells of a British prince, Ambrosius Aurelianus, who led the resistance against the invaders and defeated the Saxons in a great battle in Dorset, at Mount Badon in 520. But it was



MIGRATIONS OF ANGLES, SAXONS, AND JUTES.

not an enduring triumph. By the end of the sixth century the Angles and Saxons had won everywhere, and Christianity had almost, though not quite, disappeared from England.

The Angles and Saxons. In the Anglo-Saxon invasion and settlement of Britain lies the foundation of the English people. The Angles and Saxons were rough, strong men from the forests and river valleys of North Germany. They took readily to the sea, and battled with the waves and the winds, with all the potent forces of nature, as bravely as they battled with the British tribes that stood in their way. If we may apply to them something of what the Roman Tacitus has related of the

old Germans in his *Germania*, about A.D. 100, we find a people faithful to their leaders, faithful to their word, fond of the country, hating towns (so far as they knew them), fond of their wives and children, looking upon treason and impurity as the greatest of crimes. They were heathen, which means literally men of the *heath*, away from civilization, living in places where Christianity had not yet penetrated. They worshipped Thor and Wodin, and others (whose names are preserved in the days of the week), the personification in their eyes of the awful natural forces which they felt more keenly, because they did not understand them,—the forces of thunder or lightning, of wind, rain, sunshine, heat and cold, dearth and plenty.

The Britons pressed westwards into Wales. Whether these men, rough, strong, uncultivated, alone gave rise to the English people, or whether something of the ancient British, or Romano-British race, entered into their composition, has been long disputed. The Britons, it is known, offered a fierce and protracted resistance from their forests and marshes. One by one their strongholds were stormed by the invaders, as when in 491 'Aella and Cissa besieged Andredscester, and slew all that dwelt therein, so that not a single Briton was there left'.[1] Slaughtered where no escape was left, receiving no quarter and expecting none, the Britons, it is held, were in places exterminated, in others pushed back, till at last they reached safety, comparative safety only, in the mountains of Wales. The Angles and Saxons had left their German homes because famine afflicted them, and because they wished to find new lands for hunting, and to despoil the British churches. So they dispossessed the Britons and occupied their land.

The survival of the Britons. But this account does not complete the picture. It is only possible to exterminate a race if it is inferior in vitality, in physical, mental, and moral strength, to its conquerors. The Britons were not markedly inferior in these respects. They were not so good at fighting, though even in this respect they were skilful and

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *sub anno* 491.

efficient, and if united would have held their own. The Romano-British survive to-day in Wales and in Cornwall; in Wales their ancient tongue is still spoken. In the rest of England British elements must have entered into the English stock. Conquerors have always taken wives from the conquered; between the Anglo-Saxons and the British women there was no 'colour-line'; the children would look much like any Saxon children. Other British men and women would be kept as slaves or menial servants. A few isolated and forgotten communities seem to have continued to exist in the forests.

'Public as well as private structures were overturned; the priests were everywhere slain before the altars; the prelates and the people, without any respect of persons, were destroyed with fire and sword. . . . Some of the miserable remainder, being taken in the mountains, were butchered in heaps. Others, spent with hunger, came forth and submitted themselves to the enemy for food, being destined to undergo perpetual servitude, if they were not killed even upon the spot. Some, with sorrowful hearts, fled beyond the seas. Others, continuing in their own country, led a miserable life among the woods, rocks, and mountains, with scarcely food enough to support life. and expecting every moment to be their last.' (Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, chap. xv.)

Gradually what was left of the British race outside Wales blended with the Anglo-Saxon; to the strength of the conqueror was added something of the versatility and imagination of the conquered.

CHAPTER III

THE CONVERSION OF BRITAIN

Disappearance of Christianity from Britain. With the Saxon conquest, Christianity disappeared from Britain, except among the hills and valleys of the West, where it continued, isolated among the 'Welsh'—the foreigners—as the Saxons henceforth called the Celtic population of Britain. Under the Romans themselves, Christianity in Britain had not been very vigorous; at first it had to make its way against persecution.

Among others mentioned by Bede as having suffered for their faith is St. Alban, who was tortured and then beheaded, about the year 305.

After the Roman Empire officially adopted Christianity in 323 the Church was peacefully organized in Britain, but the Anglo-Saxons, when they came, plundered the churches. Within a century the Angles and Saxons had established themselves completely in England, divided into many small kingdoms, from which three greater gradually emerged—Wessex, Mercia, Northumbria—although, for a short time, towards the end of the sixth century, the small kingdom of Kent, under a king called Æthelbert, had a somewhat vague supremacy of all England.

Gregory wishes to convert England. It was during Æthelbert's reign that Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, was able to carry out the design of reconverting England, a design which had been suggested to him years before by the sight of some fair English slave-boys in Rome. The story is related by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*, in a simple style in Latin.

'It is reported, that some merchants, having just arrived at Rome on a certain day, exposed many things for sale in the market-place, and abundance of people resorted thither to buy: Gregory himself went with the rest, and, among other things, some boys were set to sale, their bodies white, their countenances beautiful, and their hair very fine. Having viewed them, he asked, as is said, from what country or nation they were brought, and was told, from the island of Britain, whose inhabitants were of such personal appearance. He again inquired whether those islanders were Christians, or still involved in the errors of paganism, and was informed that they were pagans. Then fetching a deep sigh from the bottom of his heart, "Alas! what pity", said he, "that the author of darkness is possessed of men of such fair countenances; and that being remarkable for such graceful aspects, their minds should be void of inward grace." He therefore again asked what was the name of that nation? and was answered that they were called Angles. "Right," said he, "for they have an Angelic face, and it becomes such to be co-heirs with the Angels in heaven. What is the name", proceeded he,

"of the province from which they are brought?" It was replied, that the natives of that province were called Deiri. "Truly are they *De ira*," said he, "withdrawn from wrath, and called to the mercy of Christ. How is the King of that province called?" They told him his name was Ælla; and he, alluding to the name, said, "Allelujah, the praise of God the Creator must be sung in those parts." (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II, chap. i.)

ST. MARTIN'S, CANTERBURY, from an old woodcut.

Æthelbert's Queen, Bertha, was a daughter of a Frankish king, and had brought with her a chaplain from Gaul. She worshipped in an old Roman church, at Canterbury, the church of St. Martin, which somehow had escaped complete destruction in the Saxon invasions.

St. Augustine's Mission. So the soil was prepared for the reception of the Abbot Augustine, the priest whom Bishop Gregory had chosen to lead the mission of Benedictine monks into England. They landed in 597 in the Isle of Thanet,

where Hengist had landed over a hundred years before: 'and the king received them sitting in the open air, on the chalk-down above Minster, where the eye nowadays catches miles away over the marshes the dim tower of Canterbury.'[1] In a wonderfully short time, a few years at most, all Kent was converted. Within fifty years Wessex had received Christianity too, at the hands of Birinus, who came from Gaul and founded the great church at Dorchester, nine miles from Oxford.

The British Christian Church. The advent of St. Augustine is one of the great facts in the history of Christian England; for it brought in the Roman system of Church government and ritual, which was ultimately adopted all over the islands. Yet the importance of St. Augustine must not be over-estimated; for the Celtic (or British Christian) Church, which had got out of touch with the Roman system, had survived the Anglo-Saxon invasions in Wales, and in Ireland, which St. Patrick, a noble-born British youth, had converted in A. D. 405, it had continued living and vigorous. In the sixth and seventh centuries Ireland was an island of saints. Monasteries were founded in every district, and the abbots were practically the chiefs of the tribes. Their power was boundless, their fidelity to their ideals, their duty of succouring the oppressed and of spreading the knowledge of Christ, never wavered. From Ireland St. Columba went to the barren little island of Iona off the west coast of Scotland, and from Iona St. Aidan carried the Gospel to Northumberland, whose king, the lowly Oswald, had as a boy been sent for safety to Iona during one of the periods of internal war which so often disturbed the early English thrones. Thus the Island of Britain, divided into several petty kingdoms, was also divided ecclesiastically under two different Church 'rules': Wessex and Kent followed the Roman rule, established by St. Augustine; Northumbria, and Mercia (which adopted the Roman rule when St. Chad was bishop, in 670) followed the Celtic (or

[1] J. R. Green, *Short History of the English People*, chap. i, § iii.

Columba's) rule. The differences were slight, and in no way concerned doctrine. The British Church received no orders from Rome, and its system through the different lands which it covered was less uniform, less co-ordinated. The Roman rule meant centralization and uniformity. The British Church was the more free, and in the early missionary days, the time of expansion and burning faith, was more effective, more moving in its enthusiasm. But the unity of the Roman rule, with its careful organization, its combined efforts, was in the long run more powerful, and eventually won the whole island.

Early Literature in Britain. With the spread of Christianity, education and learning began again in England. The Celtic Church especially, with its many monasteries, where the monks had peace and quiet to pursue their studies, contained many scholars. But the first great poem which is claimed as, in some sense, belonging to English literature is Beowulf, a fine Norse Epic, composed not in the British Isles at all, but by some Scandinavian bard who collected ancient poems, in the seventh or eighth century. The story is of the heroic deeds of the great Norse chief Beowulf, whose career had long been known and sung by the Angle peoples, even before they came to Britain. It is an epic of war, of the slaying of dragons and of men, and is filled with awe before the supreme forces of nature, by which the Norse people felt themselves encompassed. In this epic, life in the house of an ancient Angle or Saxon chief reappears for our view to-day :

'Countless nobles guarded the Hall, as they had often done in earlier time : they cleared away the bench boards ; it was strewn throughout with beds and bolsters. One of the revellers, whose end was near, lay down to rest in hall a doomed man. At their heads they set the shields, the bright bucklers ; there, on the bench was over each etheling, plain to be seen, the towering war-helmet, the ringed mail-coat, the shaft of awful power. Their custom was that they were constantly ready for war, whether at home or in the field, in both cases alike, whatever the occasion on which their liege lord had need of their services ; it was a good people.' [1]

[1] *Beowulf* (Eng. trans.), by Earle (1892), p. 40.

Amidst the clash of arms, the poet has still time to pause and observe the works of nature :

'So marched the valiant man, with his band of comrades ; he went along the strand treading the sea-laved floor, the spacious fore-shores. The world's candle, the sun in his course, shone from the south—they pursued their journey, with mighty pace they covered the ground, to where report said that the shelter of warriors, the banesmen of Ongentheow, the war-king young and brave, was in his towers distributing rings.'[1]

Beowulf's work was not war for its own sake, for plunder or conquest, but to slay the dragons, the devouring enemies of mankind. In his last great struggle the old king is successful, but he dies himself from his wounds. The poem ends with the funeral of Beowulf :

'Then there rode around the tumulus war-chiefs, sons of ethelings, twelve in all ; they would bewail their loss, bemoan the king, recite an elegy, and celebrate his name. They admired his manhood, and they loftily appraised his daring work ; as it is fitting that a man should with words extol his liege lord, should cherish him in his affections, when he must take his departure from the body which holds him.

'Thus did the lords of the Goths, the companions of his hearth, lament the fall of their lord ; they said that he was of all kings in the world, the mildest and most affable to his men ; most genial to his lords ; and most desirous of praise.'[2]

Cædmon. With Christianity came a milder spirit, and poems were written in English, to make known the ways of God. The chief singer of the seventh century, writing not in Latin but in the Angle tongue, was Cædmon, a monk in the monastery of Streaneshalch or Whitby, which the Abbess Hilda had founded. He entered the monastery late in life. Among the Northumbrians it was the custom, at feasts, for the guests in turn to play upon the harp and to sing, in turn, songs of their own composing. But Cædmon (this was in the days before he entered the monastery) could not sing or make verses, for which reason

[1] Ibid., p. 64. [2] Ibid., *ad fin.*

'When he saw the instrument come towards him, he rose up from the table and returned home.

'Having done so at a certain time and gone out of the house where the entertainment was, to the stable, where he had to take care of the horses that night, he then composed himself to rest at the proper time; a person appeared to him in his sleep, and saluting him by his name, said, "Cædmon, sing some song to me." He answered, "I cannot sing; for that was the reason why I left the entertainment, and retired to this place, because I could not sing." The other, who talked to him, replied, "However, you shall sing." "What shall I sing?" rejoined he. "Sing the beginning of created beings," said the other. Hereupon he presently began to sing verses to the praise of God, which he had never heard, the purport whereof was thus: We are now to praise the Maker of the heavenly kingdom, the power of the Creator and his counsel, the deeds of the Father of Glory. How he, being the Eternal God, became the author of all miracles, who first as almighty preserver of the human race, created heaven for the sons of men as the roof of the house, and next the earth. This is the sense, but not the words in order as he sang them in his sleep; for verses, though never so well composed, cannot be literally translated out of one language into another, without losing much of their beauty and loftiness. Awaking from his sleep he remembered all that he had sung in his dream, and soon added much more to the same effect in verse worthy of the Deity.'[1]

Cynewulf. Cædmon wrote in Old English the story of the creation of the world, the history of Israel, and the story of Our Lord. His is the first and, till Milton wrote *Paradise Lost*, the greatest religious poem in English. None who came after him, says Bede, could vie with him in religious poetry. Yet Cynewulf, another Northumbrian, who was after Bede's time, wrote the story of Christ in a long poem which has great beauty: the feeling of religion and the feeling of the sea run through his works:

> Now tis most like as if we fare in ships,
> on the ocean-floor, over the water cold,

[1] Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, chap. xxiv.

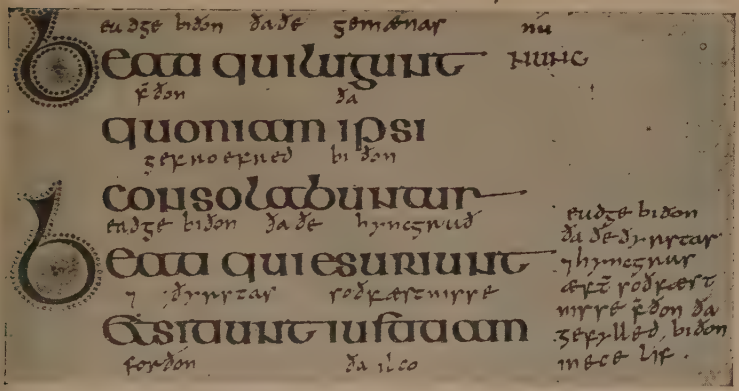
driving our vessels through the spacious seas,
with horses of the deep. A perilous way is this
of boundless waves, and these are stormy seas,
on which we toss here in this feeble world,
o'er the deep paths. Ours was a sorry plight,
until at last we sailed unto the land,
over the troubled main. Help came to us,
that brought us to the haven of salvation,
God's Spirit-Son, and granted grace to us,
that we might know, e'en from the vessel's deck,
where we must bind with anchorage secure
our ocean-steeds, old stallions of the waves.
O let us rest our hope in that same port,
which the Lord Celestial opened for us there,
holy on high, when He to heaven ascended.[1]

Bede. The greatest scholar of the eighth century was Bede, who was born in Northumbria about the year 673. He became a monk of Jarrow in Durham, where his life was passed till his death in 735. The tranquil life of a scholar may be combined with enormous industry ; and Bede, whose greatest pleasure, as he says, was learning, teaching, and writing, became, like Aristotle in the fourth century before Christ, a master of all the knowledge of his time. Even the Greek language, which was practically forgotten in western Europe till the fifteenth century, was known to Bede. The monastery of Jarrow became a great school, where Bede instructed the six hundred monks, and the men from other places who came to hear him. The text-books which he wrote covered all known subjects : astronomy, physics, history, grammar, medicine, music. 'The quiet grandeur of a life consecrated to knowledge, the tranquil pleasure that lies in learning and teaching and writing, dawned for Englishmen in the story of Bæda.'[2] The work that has the most interest for us is his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, the ecclesiastical history of the English people. Bede was the first to recognize that there was an English nation or people,

[1] *Cynewulf's Christ* (trans. Gollancz, 1892), p. 73.
[2] Green, *Short History*, p. 37.

divided though it was in the eighth century among several warring kingdoms. The Ecclesiastical History is the greatest record of our people, before the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Bede died at Jarrow, surrounded by his scholars.

Roman ecclesiastical customs adopted in England. Before this happened, all England, except Wales, had come under one ecclesiastical jurisdiction, although still divided among



HANDWRITING about 700. Lindisfarne Gospels.[1]
(The Anglo-Saxon gloss is later.)

the kingdoms. At the Synod of Whitby, in 664, where the chief men of the Celtic and Roman Churches north of the Thames met to discuss their differences, it was decided to conform to the Roman rule and customs. Four years later, Theodore, a learned and able Greek monk, was sent by Pope Vitalian to be Archbishop of Canterbury. Under him England was more systematically divided than before into bishoprics and parishes, the discipline of the clergy was improved, and the harmony and uniformity so characteristic of the Roman system prevailed ecclesiastically, though not politically, throughout the land.

[1] Beati qui lugunt nunc | quoniam ipsi | consolabuntur | Beati qui esuriunt | et sitiunt iustitiam.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONSOLIDATION OF ENGLAND

Three kingdoms in turn supreme in England. For five hundred years after the invasions of the Angles and Saxons began, England remained divided, and the entries in the

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for this period are little more than the record of fighting.

After the short-lived supremacy of Kent under Æthelbert (A. D. 560–616), three kingdoms, one after the other, became supreme over the greater part of England. The first was Northumbria, next came Mercia, finally came the supremacy of Wessex. Northumbria had been made out of the two northern kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira. Under King Æthelfrith it became strong, heavily defeating the Picts who came from the north at Degsastan in 603, and the Welsh at

Chester in 613, when the two thousand monks of Bangor-is-y-coed (on the Dee) were massacred. This victory cut the Middle Welsh off from the Strathclyde Welsh, just as a previous victory of the West Saxons at Deorham in Somersetshire, in 577, had cut them off from the Cornish Welsh.

The supremacy of Northumbria. The next king of Northumbria, Eadwine, made the kingdom greater than ever: he was acknowledged to be 'Bretwalda', or overlord, of England. The fortress of Edinburgh, on the commanding rock overlooking the Firth of Forth, was founded by him. Eadwine was converted to Christianity, and then fell before the might of the heathen Mercian king, Penda. In 633 he was slain at Heathfield in Yorkshire, and the land was laid waste by the terrible Mercian and his Welsh ally, Cædwalla. For a time, however, Northumbria recovered its strength and happiness,

under the saintly king Oswald, till Penda defeated him too, ten years after the death of Eadwine. Oswald's brother, Oswy, a devout Christian also, was successful in overthrowing Penda, but Northumbria never recovered its supremacy. England remained divided and distracted.

Mercia. The greatest kingdom in the eighth century was still Mercia. After Penda's death Mercia was converted to Christianity by St. Chad. The Mercian ruler, Offa, who reigned from 757 to 796, was one of the greatest men of the time. He was considered to be the friend and equal of Charlemagne, the mighty king of the Franks, two letters from whom, addressed to Offa, may still be read. Yet Mercia's supremacy passed away too. In the struggle for existence between the kingdoms, the state which had in it the most permanent bases of strength gradually asserted itself.

Wessex. At the end of the eighth century a young prince of Wessex, Egbert, driven from his native country in one of the many civil wars which retarded so grievously the early West Saxon state, was living at the court of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle. In 802 he was brought back to Wessex and accepted as king. Like nearly all members of the West Saxon royal house, he was a strong, capable man, and he had learned something about government and administration at the carefully organized Frankish Court. From this time Wessex began to take its place as the chief state in England—a place which was at first threatened, then, as it seemed, destroyed, finally confirmed and vindicated, in the great Danish invasions that soon followed.

The Danish invasions. The Danes appeared in their low black ships, off England, before the end of the eighth century. They came, vigorous, unspoiled, barbarous, like the men we read of in Beowulf of old. Many causes pressed them from their own lands—from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Frisia, for they came from all these. The people were increasing, life was getting more difficult, in Scandinavia; adventurous spirits sought to free themselves from the strict rule of their

kings. At first they came to England, like the Angles and Saxons in the fifth century, in small bands; gradually these increased. Egbert and his successors were just able to maintain themselves. As the ninth century went on, both north and south were seriously threatened. In 870 the king or sub-king of East Anglia was taken and shot to death against a tree; 'his martyrdom by the heathen made him the St. Sebastian of English legend; in later days his figure gleamed from the pictured windows of every church along the eastern coast, and the stately abbey of St. Edmundsbury rose over his relics'.[1] But it was long before the saint thus met with due recognition. Meanwhile, the English villages were burned, the men and women made captive, the helpless children slaughtered or left to starve. The churches were overthrown, the priests killed at the altar. The arts and learning disappeared, so that when Alfred succeeded to the West Saxon throne there was not one priest north of the Humber, and very few south of it, who could say the mass in Latin. It was an England being driven forcibly back to anarchy and misery that Alfred grew up to save.

Alfred. Alfred was born in 849 at Wantage, in the Berkshire Downs, the magnificent range of low rolling hills, smooth and grass-covered, which are felt to be so thoroughly, so typically English by all who live near them. At the age of four he was sent to Rome by his father Ethelwulf, 'with an honourable escort,' as his biographer Asser tells us. The visit can scarcely have made much impression on the mind of the small boy, yet some memory remained, and the magic of the name of Rome, so potent in the Middle Ages, was doubtless strengthened for the rest of his life in the mind of the devout and noble king. In 856 he was brought back to England, and in 871 succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex, with a poor harassed people of simple sheep-breeders and wheat-growers, whose heroic struggle against the bloodthirsty Danes seemed likely to end only in calamity and ruin. Troubled by ill-health,

[1] Green, *Short History*, p. 44.

bearing the whole weight of governing a people who knew no other to whom to turn, Alfred never wavered. He became the soldier, the leader, the judge, and teacher of his people: the most noble example of hardworking devotion and self-sacrifice in the whole story of England.

The Danes attack Wessex. When Alfred, still a young man of twenty two, succeeded his brother Ethelred I, the tide of battle seemed gradually, in spite of heroic efforts, to be turning against the English. For a few years, however, the Danes' attention was chiefly occupied with the conquest of Northumbria and Mercia; but in 876, after they had overrun the greater part of these two kingdoms, they began to come in full force against Wessex. The Danes who invaded England were experienced warriors. Their whole life was spent in fighting; plunder was their reward, and they fought for it furiously. Yet they were not mere barbarians. They had rules of military discipline, and carried out their expeditions with something of the regularity of a professional army. Against this Alfred could only oppose his personal followers, his 'thegns', and the mass levy of freemen, the 'fyrd', peasants who left their holdings of land to fight the invader, unskilled in arms, and unable long to stay in the field, for their women and children were left behind, and had to be provided for, and their land to be tilled.

RING OF KING ETHELWULF.

Alfred withdraws westwards, but ultimately conquers. Gradually the attacks of the Danes seemed to grow more powerful, and the resistance of the West Saxons to weaken. In 878, in the winter, Alfred had to retire to the western part of his kingdom, to Athelney, an 'island' among the Parret marshes in Somersetshire. The invaders wintered in Wessex, but in spring the resourceful king was upon them; issuing from his marshes, with his forces recruited and reorganized,

he fell upon the Danes at Ethandun in Wiltshire (A. D. 878), and routed their army. They were glad to make peace. The boundary between the Danes and the West Saxons was fixed by a line running through Mercia. The struggle reopened a little later, but it only brought a fresh success, for Alfred captured London. Alfred and Guthrum's Frith, in 886, settled the frontier again: it was to run 'up on the Thames, and then up on the Lea, and along the Lea unto its source, then right to Bedford, then up on the Ouse unto Watling Street'.

THE ALFRED JEWEL.

The English under Alfred. Furthermore, the Danish king received Christianity, and this itself was a victory for the cause for which Alfred had been fighting. The Danes were pagan, and war was their great business. The English were Christian, and war and plunder were not the aims of their life; life with his wife and family upon the good land which his father held before him was all the Saxon 'ceorl' wished to achieve. The English ideal may not have been high, but at least it was not cruel or ignoble. And fortunately they had an idealistic king, who looked beyond the things of this world only: a man of learning, scholarly, devout, religious, seeking above all things to lead his people along the path of righteousness.

Alfred's navy. The war against the Danish peril was a long-drawn-out, heroic episode. As a brave soldier and leader, Alfred is among the greatest of a brave race of kings. He had genius too, the rarest of all gifts; his ideas flashed into the future; he saw things hid to other men. He began the English navy, and if his ships at first made little headway against the expert Danes, the greater credit is due to him for persisting, and in keeping together a fleet, which, though not

immediately successful, was, he knew, what England needed. Nor must we forget those nameless men, whether hired Frisian or Saxon ceorl, who first answered for England the perilous calling of the sea :

> He must not float upon his watery bier
> Unwept, and welter to the parching wind,
> Without the meed of some melodious tear.[1]

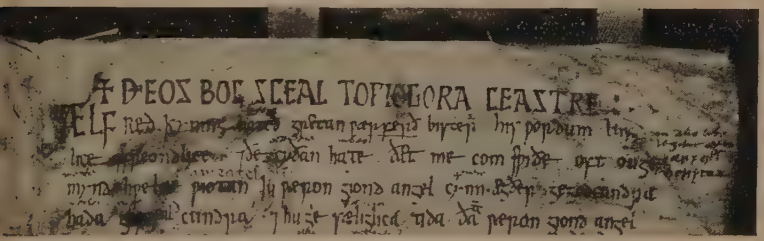
Alfred's industry ; his written works ; his schools. With peace Alfred became England's schoolmaster. The Danes had destroyed the existing civilization of the country, north of the Thames at least. Northumbrian learning had disappeared, its monasteries were in ruin, its schools dispersed. Wessex had never been highly educated, and most of the elementary culture which had existed was forgotten in the Danish wars. Alfred had to write the very books by which his people were to be taught. In addition to the whole work of government, to the daily task of hearing complaints, settling disputes, judging in trials ; to receiving the treasurer's accounts, to supervising the still needful task of defence, to the thousand and one necessary details which fill up a busy administrator's life—he found time. He translated a *History of the World* by Orosius, and the *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* of Bede. His interest in history, indeed, was of the liveliest kind, and he conceived the superb plan of having a national chronicle, a record of the public life of the nation, which was begun, it is believed, with his own hand, and kept up to date, year by year, by the members of certain monasteries, notably the monks of Winchester and Peterborough, down till the reign of Stephen. Thus the noble *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is due to Alfred. He translated, too, the *Consolations of Philosophy* of Boethius, some of the Book of Psalms, and other religious works. His prefaces are the first English prose. He built schools for boys, and set the monks to teach them. Education, *leading out*, is the way of life ; and Alfred, England's soldier, lawgiver, judge, is one of the first, too, in the noble company

[1] Milton, *Lycidas*, 12–14.

of men of letters, and teachers, who keep life sweet amid the materialism which presses upon every age. A scholar, yet his life was not given to retirement, a student from his youth, he spent his days in active service for his country.

'I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.' [1]

Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria won back from the Danes. When Alfred died in 901, more than half of England



HANDWRITING about 900. King Alfred's Preface to his translation of the *Cura Pastoralis*.[2]

was still under the Danes. It was left to his son Edward 'the Elder', and then to Athelstan, to complete the reconquest of the country. Edward's sister, Ethelfleda, had married the King of the Mercians, who ruled under Alfred. The Lady of the Mercians proved a vigorous leader like her brother. By the year 918, when Ethelfleda died at Tamworth, the greater part of Danish Mercia had been regained. As each district was reconquered, a fortress or 'burgh' was founded, like Tamworth, Warwick, Stafford, and the families that were given land in each burgh were bound to defend it. Edward

[1] Milton, *Areopagitica*.

[2] ✠ ÐEOS BOC SCEAL TOWIOGORA CEASTRE:.
ÆLFred kyning hateð gretan wærferð biscep his wordum luf | lice (and) freondlice: (and) ðe cyðan hate ðæt me com swiðe oft ónge | mynd. hwelce wiotan Iu wæron giond angel cynn. ægðer gegodcundra | hada goworul[d] cundra: (and) hu ge sæliglica tida ða wæron giond angel

himself completed the reconquest of East Anglia, and after his death in 925, his son, the golden-haired Athelstan, won Northumbria. The Danes in England submitted to the West Saxons. In 937 the Danes (or 'Norse') who had settled on the east coast of Ireland made a great attempt, in conjunction with the Strathclyde Welsh, to overthrow the West Saxon power in the north. Athelstan met them at Brunanburh, probably somewhere in Cumberland, and the invading army was scattered. For years afterwards minstrels sang the song of this victory in the halls of Saxon thegns.

Here Athelstan, king,
of earls the lord,
of heroes the bracelet-giver,
and his brother eke,
Edmund etheling,
life-long glory
in battle won
with edges of swords
near Brumby.
* * * *
There was made flee
the North-men's chieftain,
by need constrained,
to the ship's prow
with a little band.
The bark drove afloat:
the king departed
on the fallow flood,
his life preserved.
* * * *
The North-men departed
in their nailed barks;
bloody relic of darts,
on roaring ocean
o'er the deep water
Dublin to seek,
again Ireland,
shamed in mind.
* * * *
Carnage greater has not been
in this island
ever yet
of people slain,
before this,
by edges of swords
as books us say,
old writers,
since from the east hither,
Angles and Saxons
came to land,
o'er the broad seas
Britain sought
mighty war-smiths,
the Welsh o'ercame,
earls most bold,
this earth obtained.[1]

Edgar, the Peaceful. Three short reigns followed Athelstan, and then came Edgar, the Peaceful (959–75), who brought the golden age of the West Saxon dynasty. All England, even the Welsh, acknowledged him as king. The administration was

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p. 375.

KING ATHELSTAN, a contemporary portrait from MS. 183
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

reformed, and the hundreds, the old territorial divisions, large enough to support a hundred families, were reorganized.

'This is the Ordinance how the Hundred shall be held: First, that they meet always within four weeks; and that every man do justice to another. Second, that a thief be pursued.... If there be present need, let him make it known to the hundredman, and let him make it known to the tithing-men; and let all go forth to where God may direct them to go.'

Thus the whole land was put under just laws, carefully administered. The memory of the long-drawn-out wars against the Danes, the orphaned children, the broken hearts, the good countrymen maimed and shattered, became softened. Dane, Saxon, and Angle were living under the same king, enjoying the same peace. The peaceful king resolved to treat them all alike. His chief councillor was the saintly Dunstan, at first Abbot of Glastonbury, made Archbishop of Canterbury in the second year of Edgar's reign. The King's thegns might be either Danes or English, and equally enjoyed the King's trust. A milder way of life was introduced by Dunstan. The clergy were strictly overlooked, and made to live good lives: new schools were established, and through singing, especially, the children were instructed in religion and history. The land was at rest, and the saying, applied to several kings from the time of Ethelbert, seemed at last to come true, that a man could fare across England with his bosom full of gold, and meet no harm.

CHAPTER V

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

Ethelred the Redeless. The last century of the Anglo-Saxon period, preceding the Norman Conquest, was a troubled time, but a time of steady progress in civilization. The troubles came first with a renewal of the 'Danish question', of invasions from Scandinavia. The Danes outside England had never forgotten that once they held the greater part of England,

a land which in the early centuries, as throughout the rest of the Middle Ages, was reputed wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice, a kind of Mecca of the plunderer. The Danes themselves had advanced in wealth and in military power since

SAXON ARCHITECTURE. Tower of Earl's Barton Church, showing rib-work and 'long and short' work at the angles.

the days of Guthrum. Sweyn, King of Denmark and Norway, was a powerful monarch, and when he set out to conquer England it would have taken a stronger king than Ethelred the Redeless, the man without counsel, to drive him off. The English spirit, it is said, had become slack in the days of peace. It would be more true to say that the ill effects of the first long struggle with the Danes continued and ripened in the peaceful days which followed. When the early Danish

invasions spread panic and desolation over the land, many free Saxon peasants—yeomen they would have been called later—'commended' themselves to some greater man, some landed thegn. The ceorl became a vassal, bound to serve the lord, receiving in return protection from him.

'Thus shall a man swear fealty oaths: By the Lord, before whom this relic is holy, I will be to [N.] faithful and true, and love all that he loves and shun all that he shuns, according to God's law and according to the world's principles; and never, by will nor by force, by word nor by work, do aught of what is loathful to him; on condition that he me keep, as I am willing to deserve, and all that fulfil that our agreement was, when I to him submitted and chose his will.'

Thus ran the oath of commendation. In the prolonged state of warfare freedom was lost. The system of commendation, a kind of feudalism, had good points in a troubled age, but it extended too far.

With a decline in individual freedom came, it seems, a decline in spirit. Not that the antique courage of the Saxons was dead, but that it required reviving, idealizing. But now there was no Alfred on the throne, no noble, unselfish, untiring leader. Instead, there was the weak Ethelred, weak and headstrong by turns, lacking in balance, lacking in persistency, thinking that cruelty was decision, and that cunning was judgement. After one unsuccessful battle at Maldon in Essex, he took to buying off the Danes, levying Danegeld upon the country, 'with the counsel of his Witan'. The Witan was the King's council of wise men, which developed in Norman days into the Great Council, and under Edward I into Parliament. The first levy of Danegeld in 991 is the beginning of Parliamentary taxation.

The Danish Invasion under Sweyn. Cnut, King of England. The policy of buying off the Danes proved unsuccessful: they took the money, but subsequently returned for more. Many of the Danes, descendants of the invaders of Guthrum's time, who had settled in England, seem to have helped the new

Danish invaders. Ethelred tried to massacre all those Danes on St. Brice's Day (November 13), 1002. Sweyn came back to England for vengeance, harried the country, forced the 'Unready' Ethelred to fly, and made himself king. Next year, 1014, he died, and his son Cnut reigned in his stead over England, Norway, Denmark, Sweden. But Ethelred, who had found refuge in Normandy, returned to his country, and showed something of the ancient spirit of his house. Cnut was driven out of Wessex. In the year after (1015), however, the traitor Edric Streona (an 'alderman', or ruling noble of Danish descent) went over to Cnut's side with forty ships of the English fleet. Cnut was carrying his victorious arms through Mercia in 1016 against Wessex, when Ethelred died. His son, the heroic King Edmund 'Ironside', defended Wessex with unconquerable determination. In three hard-fought battles he beat off the Danes from London. Edric Streona had come back to the Saxon side. Yet again he turned traitor, and took the way of perdition. At Ashington in Essex, where Cnut later built a chapel to commemorate his victory, Edmund's army was overthrown by Cnut. Yet even this was not the end. The men of Wessex again rallied round their king, and Cnut, a keen-witted statesman, who knew the sort of man he had to deal with, consented to a treaty of partition. Edmund kept Wessex; Cnut had the rest. In six months of fighting the Ironside had saved Wessex. A month later he was assassinated by an unknown hand, perhaps at the word of Cnut. Wessex accepted the Danish king, and all England was once more under one rule.

Cnut as King. Cnut, having won his way through blood and slaughter to the throne, became, nevertheless, a good and just ruler, zealously forwarding the interests of England. He issued a code of laws, carefully seeing that the courts should be open to every man. His wide empire, including Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, lessened the insularity of England, stopped the self-complacency of the later Anglo-Saxons, gave new means for learning and for trade. His visit to Rome

in 1027 began a period of closer connexion with the Roman Church, which became more obvious under Edward the Confessor. His 'Letter to his people' was probably read to the Witan, and shows the simple monarch, on his passage through Europe and in the Eternal City, thinking kindly of those he had left behind.

'Canute, King of all England, Denmark, Norway and part of the Swedes, to Ethelnoth, metropolitan, and Ælfric, archbishop of York, and to all bishops, nobles, and to the whole nation of the English, high and low, health. I notify to you that I have lately been to Rome, to pray for the forgiveness of my sins; for the safety of my dominions, and of the people under my government. Be it known to you, that at the solemnity of Easter, a great assembly of nobles was present with pope John, and the emperor Conrad, that is to say, all the princes of the nations from Mount Garganus to the neighbouring sea. All these received me with honour, and presented me with magnificent gifts. But more especially was I honoured by the emperor, with various gifts and offerings, in gold and silver vessels, and palls and costly garments. Moreover, I spoke with the emperor himself and the sovereign pope and the nobles that were there, concerning the wants of all my people, English as well as Danes; observing that there ought to be granted to them more equitable regulations, and greater security on their passage to Rome; that they should not be impeded by so many barriers on the road, nor harassed with unjust exactions. The emperor assented to my request, as did Rudolph the king, who has the chief dominion over those barriers; and all the princes confirmed by an edict, that all my subjects, traders, as well as those who went on a religious account, should peaceably go and return from Rome, without any molestation from warders of barriers, or tax-gatherers. Again I complained before the pope, and expressed my high displeasure that my archbishops were oppressed by the immense sum of money which is demanded from them when seeking, according to custom, the apostolical residence to receive the pall: and it was determined that it should be so no longer. Moreover all things which I requested for the advantage of my kingdom, from the sovereign pope, and the emperor, and king Rudolph, and the other princes through whose territories our road to Rome is situated, they have

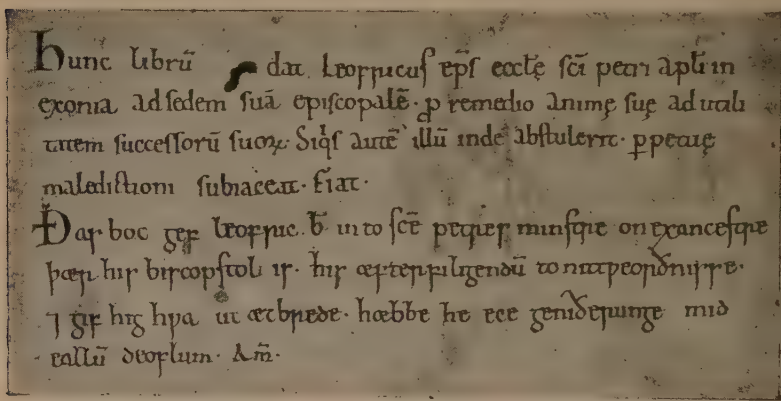
freely granted, and confirmed by oath, under the attestation of four archbishops and twenty bishops, and an innumerable multitude of dukes and nobles who were present. Wherefore I give most hearty thanks to God Almighty, for having successfully completed all that I had wished, in the manner I had designed and fully satisfied my intentions. Be it known then, that since I have vowed to God himself, henceforth to reform my life in all things, and justly, and piously to govern the kingdoms and the people subject to me, and to maintain equal justice in all things : and have determined, with God's assistance, to rectify any thing hitherto unjustly done, either through the intemperance of my youth, or through negligence ; therefore I call to witness and command my counsellors, to whom I have entrusted the counsels of the kingdom, that they by no means, either through fear of myself or favour to any powerful person, suffer, henceforth, any injustice, or cause such to be done in all my kingdom. Moreover I command all sheriffs, or governors throughout my whole kingdom, as they tender my affection, or their own safety, not to commit injustice towards any man, rich or poor, but to allow all, noble and ignoble alike, to enjoy impartial law, from which they are never to deviate, either on account of royal favour, the person of any powerful man, or for the sake of amassing money for myself ; for I have no need to accumulate money by unjust exaction.'[1]

The house of Alfred restored to the throne. Cnut died in 1035 after a reign of eighteen years. Two more Danish kings ruled, but over a turbulent and dissatisfied England, till in 1042 the Witan recalled the house of Alfred, in the person of the devout Edward, a young man who had lived all his life at the Norman Court, and had become almost a Frenchman.

The reign of Edward the Confessor prepared the way for the Norman Conquest. Edward was almost a monk upon the throne ; he was simple and guileless, but without strong character. He found Saxon England, the Saxon Court, rough and uncultivated, compared with the Norman-French society he had known at Rouen. His great interest was to reform the Church in England. In the middle of the tenth century, in the Benedictine monastery of Cluny in

[1] William of Malmesbury, Book II, chap. ii.

Burgundy, a stricter way of life than was observed by the rest of the clergy in Europe, was established. The triple vows of monks—poverty, celibacy, obedience—were rigidly enforced. The ascetic movement spread to Normandy, and the Benedictine monastery of Bec was founded, and became a model of strict and learned churchmanship in the north of France. Young Prince Edward, at the Norman Court (his



HANDWRITING about 1050. Bishop Leofric's curse on any person who should remove his gift books from Exeter Cathedral.[1]

uncle was Duke Richard), conceived a strong devotion to this strict churchmanship. When he returned to England as king, in 1041, he found a state of things sadly different. The zealous monks of Dunstan's day were no more; many priests were married; the religious and disciplinary observances of the Church were not strictly maintained. Edward devoted his life to setting this right, and whenever opportunity offered, replaced a Saxon Abbot or Bishop by a Norman cleric, who would bring strict and uniform discipline, and a close connexion with the papal authority in Rome, into the insular English Church. For this reason, when Archbishop Eadsige

[1] Hunc libru(m) dat Leofricus ep(iscopu)s eccl(esi)ę s(an)c(t)i Petri ap(osto)li in | Exonia ad sedem sua(m) episcopale(m), p(ro) remedio animę suę ad utili | tatem successoru(m) suor(um). Si q(u)is aute(m) illu(m) inde abstulerit, p(er)petuę | maledictioni subiaceat. Fiat.

died in 1051, Edward put in his place the Norman monk, Robert of Jumièges. With the introduction of a stricter self-sacrificing and devout spirit, came better architecture. He began to build the glorious Abbey of Westminster. Norman monks and builders helped him. He had no son of his own, and some people thought he might even leave England to the Norman Duke. In 1051 he invited young Duke William over to England on a visit, and is supposed then to have promised him the crown.

Earl Godwin. Against this 'Normanizing' policy one man at least struggled, the first man in English history, says the historian Freeman, who being neither priest nor king, deserves the name of statesman. Earl Godwin had risen by talent and force of character to be chief man of the kingdom under Cnut and under Edward. He became Earl of Wessex. His sons, the honest hard-working Harold, the lustful Sweyn, courageous Gurth, turbulent Tostig, all became earls likewise, governing great districts of England.

Godwin formed a national party, and steadily worked to suppress the Norman interest. With Edward's favourites he was always at enmity. It was as if he saw afar off the coming of the Norman host to England, the claiming of the crown by a Norman duke, the mailed heel of the Norman baron upon the neck of the Saxon ceorl, and he set himself steadily to prevent this. Stroke and counter-stroke followed. Once Godwin was in exile, and again he returned. The men of Wessex would follow him anywhere. He forced Edward to let go the Norman priests: they fled overseas, and Godwin had the Saxon Stigand made Archbishop of Canterbury. Godwin was chief councillor, and Stigand held the Church. Then Godwin died (1053); Edward died twelve years later (January 1066). The Witan chose Harold, Godwin's son, king in his stead.

Harold, King. Now England stood at the parting of the ways. Would she remain Saxon, insular, northern, out of touch with Western Europe, with the hard feudalism of the Norman-French, with the milder graces of the Latin Church?

Harold stood for Saxon England, a country still of unclaimed forest and marsh, with masses of freemen living on their own land, with wooden churches, few towns, no frowning stone castles. William the Norman stood for a more perfect feudalism, less liberty, more order, a stricter churchmanship, a wider learning, a stricter code for everything, an iron hand over all. William's system triumphed. In the Museum

SAXON SHIPS, from the Bayeux Tapestry.

of Bayeux, men who live eight hundred years after Duke William died, can still see the marvellous tapestry, wrought perhaps by Queen Matilda and her maids, after the battle of Hastings. They can see pictured, act by act, the story of the Norman Conquest: William, first of all, beating his own barons at Val ès Dunes, making himself thoroughly master in his own duchy; then Harold, wrecked on the Norman coast, and being made, it is said, to swear to help Duke William to England. Then, scene by scene, the breathless story is unfolded, till in the fight at Senlac (or Hastings), Harold is last seen, vainly trying with his ebbing strength

to pluck the Norman arrow from his eye. He died on the field of Hastings, with his housecarls around him (October 14, 1066).

The Campaign of Hastings. William, Duke of Normandy, was thirty-nine years old at this time, and was a man of great firmness of mind, and equally skilful in war and administration. He had for years been waiting for the chance to become King of England. On September 27 he sailed from St. Valéry

EARLY ARMOUR. 'Scale', 'Trellis', and 'Chain' patterns.

at the mouth of the Somme, and landed next day at Pevensey on the coast of Sussex, about eight miles east of Beachy Head. The number of men in his army is not accurately known; probably he had 10,000–15,000 men.

King Harold had been ready to meet the invasion all summer, but in this very month of September he had to meet another invasion in the north. One of his brothers, Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, exiled for misdeeds in that county, had brought the King Harold Hardrada of Norway against England. There seems to be no doubt that Tostig and William of Normandy acted in concert. Tostig and the Norwegians landed in the Humber, defeated the Earls Edwin

and Morcar at the bloody battle of Fulford on the Ouse, south of York, and took that city. Harold at once took the fyrd of Wessex to the north country, and at Stamford Bridge on the Derwent he utterly defeated the Norwegians. Both Tostig and Harold Hardrada were slain.

The battle of Stamford Bridge was fought on September 25, three days before William landed at Pevensey. When Harold heard of this, he came swiftly south with those of his army

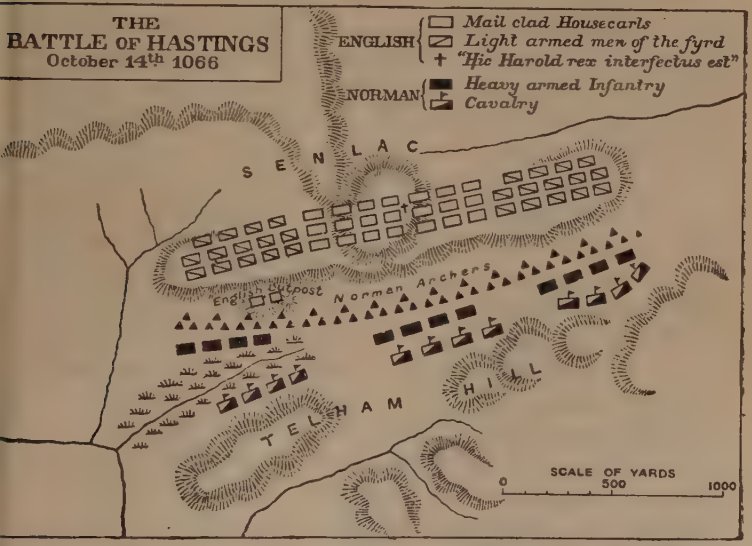
SAXON FOOTMEN AND NORMAN CAVALRY
from the Bayeux Tapestry.

who could follow, and, receiving fresh forces at London, he advanced into Sussex. William had not attempted to advance upon London, and had indeed scarcely moved from his landing-place. Harold planted himself on a hill seven miles inland from Hastings, commanding the road which goes to London. On October 14, William, who had his camp in Hastings, marched out to attack him.

The Saxon army had a good position on the hill, and they had protected themselves by a rough stockade. The men, however, were poorly armed, many having no armour at all, and only scythes, flails, and knives for weapons. Harold's housecarls, however, a magnificent body of some 2,000–3,000

men, had helmets and breastplates, and heavy Danish axes, which they wielded with terrible effect.

William's army advanced in three divisions—a central corps and two wings. First came the archers; when these had discharged their volleys they gave way to the infantry; finally came the heavy cavalry, the mounted men-at-arms. Each corps—the centre and the two wings—had archers,



infantry, and cavalry. As they came onward, the Norman minstrel Taillefer, riding in front, kept throwing his sword into the air and catching it, singing the *Song of Roland* as he advanced. The attack failed, however; the Breton contingent gave way and was chased down the slope. This check suggested to William the device by which he won the day. When he led his men to the attack again, he told his steadiest infantry to pretend to be beaten; they retired down the hill, pursued by the English; then the Norman men-at-arms rode through the broken ranks of the English and slaughtered them.

Yet Harold's housecarls still held the hill, and from noon till sunset they fought around their leaders, Harold, Gurth, and Leofwine, the last heroic princes of Saxon England. The heavy Danish axes crashed through the armour of the Normans, and lopped off their arms and heads. Then, however, the arrows were pitilessly rained from the Norman host, till at last, fatigued, famished, and wounded, the housecarls, unable longer to bear the strain, began too to break from their ranks, as by two and threes they ran forth to meet their death hand to hand. A few charges of the Norman cavalry settled the fortune of the day. Harold, Gurth, and Leofwine all died on the field of battle ; a few only of the English were able to withdraw into the Andredsweald.

After the battle, William pushed forward to Dover, which surrendered at once. There he rested a week, as his army was suffering from dysentery. Then he set forth to gain London, the heart of the kingdom. He was too good a general, however, to attempt a direct advance. He marched his men westwards and northwards, and did not cross the Thames till he got to Wallingford, about fourteen miles below Oxford. Here the Chilterns run, like a broken wall, across the country between the Thames and the Bedford Ouse. William crossed this undefended wall, passed by Berkhamsted, and came down upon London from the north. The gates of the city were opened. The English Witan at London had perforce to elect him as king, and on Christmas Day, 1066, he was crowned in Edward's Abbey of Westminster.

Thus it was that William the Norman won his crown, and the old Saxon rule came to an end. It was indeed a worthy ending. Harold and his housecarls, fighting for their England on the hill of Hastings, with their backs to the mild October sun that was setting behind the Sussex Downs, show the Anglo-Saxon people at their best—a people whose sun was setting only to rise again in a new life after the battle and the death before which they had not flinched.

CHAPTER VI

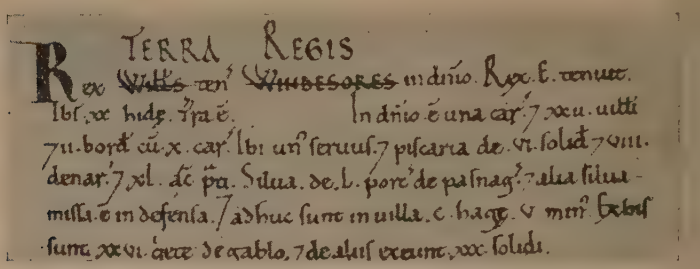
THE NORMAN KINGS

The four Conquests of England. The Norman Conquest was the fourth and last conquest of England. Of these four—the Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman—only the Roman settlement can be compared with the modern colonial movements. The Romans were a people with a higher civilization than the ancient British, and their administration was an undoubted benefit to the country. But the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, each in turn, came to a land which was already peopled by a race capable of looking after itself, and of developing, in a civilized way, the country which it inhabited. Nevertheless, in the long run, England benefited by the different races which settled in the country, and whose various qualities have gone to make the English character.

The Anglo-Norman Land System. The Normans did not come to England as a people. They were simply a governing aristocracy, numbering about five thousand in all, who received land in England from King William as a reward for their services at the Conquest, and who settled on the land with their families. The organization of the Anglo-Norman land system must have cost William some thought, and on the whole it must be allowed that, considering the difficulties of the time, the work was efficiently done. The principle on which William and his lawyers proceeded was that there must be no lordless land in England; every acre of it must be under some one, either in the King's own hands, or a baron's or a knight's, who would be responsible for the land, and for the people on the land, to the King.

The re-allotment of the land. When William conquered the land, it consisted of Crown lands (estates of the King regarded simply as a landowner), estates of nobles (earls or thegns) or of monasteries, and the land of the free villages, where the villagers owed neither service nor rent for their holdings.

After the Conquest William was able to re-allot all this land, for all the Saxons who had held it either had fought *against* him or had not fought *for* him, and therefore, as he considered himself the legal King of England from the death of Edward the Confessor, they were all traitors and their land forfeit. To some of the Saxons, William regranted their land on payment of a fine; others lost their land altogether, and it was given to Normans. All the villagers were given a lord, from whom


TERRA REGIS

Rex Wills ten' Windesores in dñio. Rex E. tenuit.
Ibi .xx hidæ. Tra ē. In dñio ē una car' 7 xxu. uilli
7 u. bord' cū x. car'. Ibi un' seruus. 7 piscaria de. vi. solid' 7 cc.
denar'. 7 xl. ac' pa. Silua de. l. porc' de pasnag'. 7 alia silua
missa ē in defensa. 7 adhuc sunt in uilla. c. hagæ. 7 mm' Ecclæ
sunt xxvi. hæræ de gablo. 7 de alis exeunt xxx. solidi.

HANDWRITING 1086. Specimen of Domesday Book.[1]

they held their land, either as freemen or villeins. All the land in England came under lords, and for that land the lords were bound to serve the King and to maintain his peace. The estates thus held varied greatly in size, and one man's land might lie in many different parts of the country. The bishoprics and monasteries had large scattered estates; the major barons had large estates likewise, the minor barons and knights had smaller holdings. The King reserved large estates for himself in almost every county. For the King's hunting, especially, much forest land was reserved.

The Forests. The Royal Forests were tracts of country suitable for the life of forest animals—the red and fallow deer,

[1] TERRA REGIS.
Rex Will(elmu)s ten(et) Windesores in d(omi)nio. Rex. E(dwardus) tenuit. | Ibi .xx. hide. t(er)ra e(st). In d(omi)nio. e(st) una car(ucata). & xxii. uill(an)i | & ii. bord(arii) c(um) x. car(ucatis). Ibi un(us) seruus. & piscaria de, vi. solid(is) & viii. | denar(iis) & xl. ac(ris) p(r)a(ti),

the hare, the boar, and the wolf. These tracts were to a large extent wooded, but also contained much open pasture-land. In some, the land belonged to the King, in others it had private owners. Even where forest belonged to private owners, the King had rights of hunting; the killing of wild beasts by any one else was forbidden, and special Forest Laws, not the common law of the land, regulated everything. Royal Forests therefore meant particular districts of England, where the common law did not run, and which were under the Forest Laws.

In 1079 William I declared all the land between Southampton Water, the Solent, and the Avon, to be Royal Forest. The chief villages of this great region are Lyndhurst, Ringwood, Brockenhurst, and Beaulieu. Although private men still could own their land and use it for pasture, the number of these had to be limited, as close settlement of inhabitants would sooner or later have driven away the game. Therefore William made a considerable number of the inhabitants of the New Forest go elsewhere, and thus he called down upon himself the curse of many families. Therefore people said it was a divine judgement when one of his sons, Richard, was killed in the New Forest by a stag, and another, Rufus, by an assassin's arrow.

As the common law did not run in the Forests, a special code was administered by three courts: the Court of Attachment, which met every forty days and was attended by all the freeholders of the forest; the Court of Swainmote, held three times a year; and the Court of Justice-seat, held once every three years. There were two Chief Justices of the Forests, one for the forests south of the Trent, and one for the forests north of the river (*intra et ultra Trentam*).

The punishments inflicted under the Forest Laws were severe, but so were those inflicted under the common law. The chief grievance was felt by the landowners, who naturally objected to the King's suddenly declaring a part of their land to be forest, so that they themselves could not hunt in

it without leave. Hence the continual struggle between the barons and the Crown, to get the forests defined—to have the limits of the forests once and for all declared and fixed ; and Article 47 of King John's Magna Carta declared that ' all forests which have been afforested in Our time shall be immediately de-afforested '.

The Forest Laws were enforced throughout the Middle Ages, and thereafter intermittently till the Revolution of 1688, when they were dropped once and for all. The woods and forests on Crown land have exactly the same laws now as the rest of the country.

The Manor. Every large estate consisted of so many *manors*, while a small estate might be but a single manor. What was considered as a manor from the civil point of view was generally also a parish from the ecclesiastical point of view : it usually consisted of a village, with the house or ' hall ' of the lord of the manor, with a church and priest's house, and with enough contiguous land to maintain the whole community. The village would consist of wooden cottages on either side of a road, near some stream. The lord's house was near by, surrounded by the demesne, the park as it would now be called. The rest of the manor consisted of three parts : arable fields, in which the lord and the villagers each had a number of ' strips ' ; each man's strips lay in different parts of the fields, so that he should have a share of the more and less fertile parts. After the arable land there was the common—open, uncultivated—on which each villager had the right of keeping a certain number of cattle or geese. Beyond the common there might be woodland or waste, where pigs could be driven for feeding, and where wood could be gathered for fuel, and bracken cut for fodder.

The ' Townships '. The villagers, as they appear in Domesday Book, the great survey of the land made in 1086, were all either free or unfree. The freemen paid to the lord rent for their holdings, but could leave them if they chose to go anywhere else and could find an occupation. The

unfree were villeins: in return for their holdings they had to work upon their lord's strips two or three days each week. They could not leave the land, and if the land was sold, the villeins went with it. The manorial system was rigid, and retarded the development of the people, but it was not without advantages. Every one outside the towns was settled on a piece of land, and though life was hard, his livelihood was secure. The villagers, the men of the 'township' as it was called, had their own court, which was at the same time their lord's court, to settle minor grievances. Even the villeins were not at the arbitrary mercy of their lord, and were protected by the King's courts. In Henry I's reign we have a record that a manorial lord, 'Aluredus de Cheaffeword, paid a fine of forty shillings for beating his villein'.[1]

The Courts. All the villagers met in the manorial court, under the presidency of the lord's steward. The villagers present were themselves the judges of the court. For greater suits there was the court of the hundred, an area larger than the manor, but much smaller than the county. In Surrey, for instance, there were 13 hundreds, in Sussex 58, in Yorkshire (where they were called Wapentakes) there were 28. The county was a large area, dating perhaps from the time when it had been an old kingdom in the earliest Saxon days; or from some administrative division made by Alfred or Edgar, after their Danish wars. The hundred court consisted of all the freeholders of the hundred and the 'four best men and the reeve [or head man]' of each village. The county (or shire as the English called it) had a court too, consisting of the bishop, any barons, the freeholders, and four best men and the reeve for each village. The sheriff, the King's official in each county, presided. The county court was thus a popular legal assembly, in which every class was represented. In the thirteenth century it was used as a constituency for the election of members of Parliament.

[1] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i. 466, 'Aluredus de Cheaffeword reddit compotum de 40*s.* pro rustico verberato'; from Pipe Roll, 31 Henry I.

The Feudal levy. Every lord of a manor, or of many manors forming a larger estate, held his land as a tenant either from some greater lord, or direct from the King. In return for his land each lord was bound to supply a certain number of armed knights for service with his immediate overlord, who was bound to supply them in his turn for service, exclusively with the King. In addition to this 'feudal levy', all the freemen (but not the villeins) were bound to answer the King's call at any time to defend their country, a legal obligation which has never been done away with.

William Rufus. The establishment of the 'feudal system', and the administration of the county under it, is, with a number of Saxon rebellions, the story of the greater part of the first William's reign. He died in 1087 at Caen in his duchy of Normandy. 'He was mild', says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 'to those good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure to those who withstood his will.' His rule was hard, but it was even; and again of him the chronicler repeats the proverb that a man 'might travel over the kingdom with a bosom full of gold unmolested'. His son, William Rufus, was strong like his father, but without the elder William's sense of justice. Yet the native English followed him loyally when the barons rose against him, for they felt that in the royal power lay their safety. In this they were satisfied: the Norman barons were powerful men, but war and too great power had made them cruel: any one who has looked upon the recumbent figure in Dorchester Church will understand the character: the mail-clad figure of a man with huge limbs and powerful physique; the strong lines of his face are twisted with passion; his right hand grasps a huge sword, in an ecstasy of fury; the cruel mouth sneers, and the blunted nose gives an air of ruthless obstinacy. Such men had to be chastened by the king's might, and in this task, during the frequent rebellions of barons, the English gladly helped; and William of Malmesbury tells us how King Henry I would 'go round the ranks of his rude English levies and

teach them how, in order to avoid the ferocity of the knights, they should oppose their shields to them, and return their blows, by which he brought it about that by their own wish they asked for battle, in no way fearing the Normans'. When the barons had been checked by the King, the Crown in turn became too powerful and despotic; and then those strenuous

THE NORMAN KEEP, LANCASTER

and fearless barons were good instruments in checking the Crown which had checked them and taught them wisdom. So the world moves, and the jarring forces of men may be directed to a nation's progress.

Henry I. In Henry's reign Norman and English drew nearer together. The King set the example by marrying Edith (Matilda), a descendant of Edmund Ironside. Her mother, Margaret, was wife of Malcolm III of Scotland. The Norman barons disliked this policy; William, the monk of Malmesbury, who lived during Henry's reign, says they would rather have had Henry's easy-going brother Robert as king, and they mimicked Henry and his wife, calling them in Saxon, Godric and Godgiva. But Henry kept them in order, and at Tinche-

brai in 1106, which the English said was a requital for Hastings, the King, with the Saxon 'fyrd', or levy of freemen, defeated Robert and the Norman barons. When Henry died, in 1135, the English remembered his just and firm rule. 'He made peace for man and beast,' says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, adding the accustomed tribute to a just king, 'that whoso bare his burden of gold and silver, no man durst say to him aught but good'.

Stephen. The English, indeed, had reason to regret King Henry, for the next seventeen years were years of anarchy and bloodshed, civil war between Henry's daughter Matilda, the rightful queen, and Stephen, her cousin, whom the barons had elected king against their oath. This period showed feudalism at its worst, for without a strong king over all, each baron was able to do as he pleased; unbridled power and savage lust went together. They compelled the wretched villeins to help at the building of fortified castles, from which they could defy the King and each other; and, according to William of the Yorkshire monastery of Newburgh, 'there were in England, so to speak, as many kings, or rather tyrants, as there were lords of castles. . . . And as each was anxious to excel, and could not bear, some a superior, others even an equal, they fought against each other with savage hatred. The fairest regions were devastated with rapine and fire, and in what had once been the most fertile of fatherlands, almost all the food was destroyed.' For those seventeen winters, when no class increased but the priesthood, and no buildings (other than castles) rose, except churches or monasteries, the spectre of famine haunted the doors of the whole people, and men were tempted to curse God.

'Then was corn dear, and flesh and cheese and butter, for there was none in the land; wretched men starved with hunger . . . never was more misery and never heathens acted worse than these. . . . The earth bare no corn; you might as well have tilled the sea, for the land was all ruined by such deeds, and it was said openly that Christ and his saints slept' (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *sub anno* 1137).

In 1138 King David I of Scotland, who was Matilda's uncle, led an army into the north of England to help his niece, but he was defeated by Thurstan, Archbishop of York, in the 'Battle of the Standard', at Northallerton. In the same year, however, Matilda's son Henry was acknowledged Duke of Normandy, and in 1152 Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, invited him to come over to England. He was then nineteen years old.

Henry II. The coming of young Henry, the grandson of Henry I, from his country of Normandy in 1153, was looked upon by the people as the coming almost of a Messiah. Henry, the Angevin, was fiercer than the fiercest baron, more determined than the proudest Norman. Gradually his forces made headway, and in 1153 it was agreed that he should succeed the now childless Stephen. With the announcement of peace, a great sigh of relief and wave of happiness went over the country. Matthew Paris, who began about sixty years later his long career as chronicler of the Monastery of St. Albans, says that forthwith 'the knights will turn their swords into sickles, their lances into pruning-hooks; and from the camp to the ploughfield, from the tent to the workshop, the men, fatigued with long service, but breathing the common gladness, will return'. In these high hopes, during the rest of Henry II's life, the people were scarcely disappointed.

A NORMAN FONT.
Sharnbourn Church, Norfolk.

CHAPTER VII

ENGLAND UNDER THE ANGEVINS

The Anglo-Saxons and Normans become one people. Under the first three kings of the house of Anjou or Plantagenet, as it came later to be called, the English people made great progress in many directions. More particularly they became one people instead of two, Norman and Anglo-Saxon. The *Dialogus de Scaccario*, the noble work on the English Exchequer written by the Bishop of London under Richard I, says that in Henry II's time with regard to freemen, you could not tell the difference between Norman and English. The villeins, he thought, could always be assumed to be pure English, for the Normans were all of gentle birth. When Normandy was lost in 1204, the last sign of the difference between English and Norman under the English king was wiped away.

Henry II. Henry II, however (who reigned till 1188), was Duke of Normandy throughout his reign. His mother Matilda, the daughter of Henry I, had married Geoffrey, Count of Anjou; so young Henry inherited Anjou, and added it to the domains of his crown. Before succeeding to the throne, he had married Eleanor, the divorced wife of King Louis VII of France, Duchess in her own right of Aquitaine—the rich provinces of Poitou, Guienne, and Gascony. Thus Henry became lord of a greater realm than ever English king had ruled, except Cnut. He was King of England, and Lord, by various titles, of about half France. Although bound, for his French possessions, to do homage to the King of France as his feudal overlord, his continental possessions were far greater than the domains directly under the French king. To this 'Angevin Empire' he added Ireland in 1171, and the overlordship of Scotland, which he received after the capture of William the Lion, King of Scotland, in 1174.

In his reign, much was done to improve the legal and the military system of the country by the King himself. At the

same time, a change was coming over the face of the land, through the great monastic orders. The most important of these was the Cistercian Order, founded by Robert, a monk of Molême (in Burgundy), and Stephen Harding, a native of

Sherborne, at Citeaux. This was a desolate place, full of pools of water (*citeaux* or cisterns), between Dijon and Chalon ; the Cistercians soon made it by their labour a smiling land of peace and plenty. The movement spread to England, and in 1129 a Cistercian monastery was founded at Waverley, on the Wey, near Farnham in Surrey (a name used by Scott for his *Waverley Novels*). The Cistercians went to the most

desert spots they could find, cultivated them, stocked them with sheep, and combined this with work for the poor, and with the regular and assiduous worship of God. With the riches which their labour won (they were the greatest wool-growers in England in the thirteenth century), and with the benefactions which their devotion attracted, they raised

CIVIL COSTUME.

ANGLO-SAXON LADY.

LADY OF NORMAN PERIOD.

EFFIGY OF ELEANOR, Q. OF HEN. II.

some of the most splendid abbey-churches in England, like Rievaulx, near Thirsk, and Fountains, near Ripon.

Improvements in English law. Henry's greatest work for England was not in extending his foreign possessions, which were not permanent, but in making the English law more comprehensive, equal, and reasonable. The jury system, by which legal suits are heard fairly and openly, before a man's own compeers, is largely due to Henry II. He dealt with both kinds of cases at law, civil and criminal: civil law, between man and man, in disputes over property or damages; criminal cases, where offences against society have been committed, and where the State officials, not the

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL. The presbytery, 1079–1095 (showing fully developed rounded Norman style).

injured individual, conduct the prosecution. The old method, before Henry II's time, both as regards crimes and civil wrongs, was for the case to be heard in the hundred or shire-court, and for decision to be given, unless the witness of the community was unanimous on one side or the other, by ordeal or combat. Ordeal was judgement by water or fire: the suspected person submitted to some test, being thrown into a pond, or holding hot iron. According as the local priest, who was present, interpreted the result of the test, the decision of the court was given. Trial by combat was a method introduced by the Normans for free-born people. Henry II did not exactly do away with those practices, but in civil suits he established an alternative which soon ousted the barbarous methods of ordeal and combat. Instead of fighting or holding hot iron, two claimants to a piece of property, for instance, could submit their case to a jury of twelve 'lawful knights' who would investigate the case in the shire or hundred court, before the King's sheriff, and would decide between the two men. The popularity of the jury system was quickly established.

Criminal trials. In criminal jurisdiction, a regular system was established for prosecuting violent wrongdoers before the sheriff or other royal judges. In every hundred twelve lawful men were to be named, whose duty it was to be to find out if any man was considered to be a thief, robber or murderer, and to 'present' the man before the royal justices. This jury of presentment is the origin of the modern Grand Juries which commit suspected criminals for trial. The suspected man, thus presented before the justices, was tried in Henry II's time by the test of the ordeal, which in criminal cases generally ended in execution. The jury which tries a suspected criminal *after* 'presentment' or committal for trial was not established till some years after Henry II. He left the ordeal in criminal cases, but he left it discredited and contemned: a man whom the voice of the community proclaimed to be a felon might save himself at the ordeal, yet he had to

'forswear the kingdom and within eight days cross the sea, unless the winds detain him'.[1] It required only one step more, in Henry III's reign, to do away with the ordeal altogether; a 'petty' jury was established in Edward I's reign.

Judges 'on circuit' revived. The King's peace under Henry II extended everywhere, even into all the feudal 'franchises', the most privileged domains of barons. And to make certain that the King's justice should be open to every one, he not merely saw that the sheriffs administered justice in every county, but he sent judges from Westminster regularly 'on circuit' round the country. Henry I had begun this system, but it lapsed entirely in the anarchy of Stephen's reign. Henry II revived it, using for judges the able lawyers who, as Barons of the Exchequer, had been in the habit of going round the country to inquire into all matters of taxation and revenue. Thus he got judges who knew the ways of the people in each shire, and who were skilled at deciding difficult questions. The courts held by these itinerant justices have become the modern 'assizes'. The story of how Henry simplified and strengthened the legal system of England can be read in the Latin work attributed to his great Justiciar Ranulf Glanvil.

Thomas Becket opposes Henry in his reform of the Church Courts. Henry II brought the nobles completely under his own jurisdiction; he laboured hard, not altogether ineffectually, but without complete success, to bring the Church courts under control. William the Conqueror, perhaps out of gratitude to the monk Hildebrand (later Pope Gregory VII) who supported his expedition in 1066, had given the Church in England separate courts[2]; so that every man in clerical

[1] Assize of Clarendon, clause 14.

[2] Complete exemption from the King's Courts was not formally recognized till King Stephen issued his Second Charter in 1136. 'I decree and confirm that the justice and control of ecclesiastical persons, and of all clerks, and of their goods, and the distribution of ecclesiastical honours, be in the hands of the bishops' (Stubbs, *Charters*, Davis's edition, p. 143).

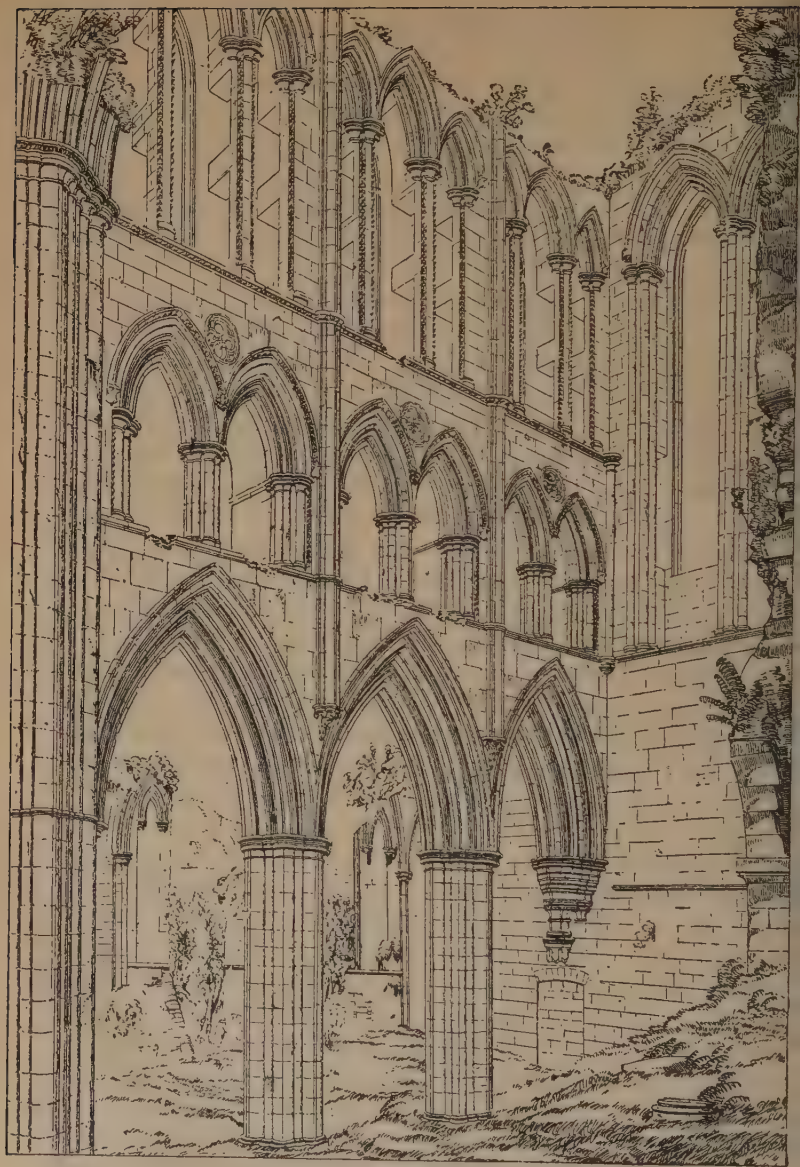
orders, whatever his offence, was exempt from the King's courts, and was tried by clergymen, who, by Canon Law, the rules of the Catholic Church, could not inflict the severest penalty. A clerk might commit a murder, but the worst that could happen to him in a clerical court was to be made a layman. Henry demanded that the 'ancient customs' should be restored, and by the Constitutions or Customs of Clarendon (1164) the Great Council of the Barons enacted that clerics condemned in Church courts should have their punishment fixed in the King's courts. But Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, refused the Church's consent to this. The kingdom was divided in a fierce controversy between Church and State.

The 'Investiture Contest'. This was the second time that England had been so divided. Sixty years earlier, Archbishop Anselm, a gentle saintly man, a scholar whose works on philosophy are among the greatest books of the Middle Ages, had refused to agree to the King's treating the bishops and abbots as mere barons, to his appointing a new bishop by royal authority whenever there was a vacancy. Prelates, said Anselm, received their spiritual office from the Church alone. This famous dispute was part of a similar great struggle, the 'Investiture Contest', which was going on at the same time between Church and State in Europe. In England it was amicably settled. Anselm and Henry I respected each other, and in 1107 made a reasonable compromise. As a baron, as a holder of land direct from the King, every prelate was to be the King's 'man', and as such to swear allegiance; as a bishop, however, he was the spouse of the Church only, and took his spiritual emblems, his marriage ring, and his pastoral staff, from off the altar of his cathedral or chapel. The actual election of bishops was to be in the hands of the cathedral chapter, the election of abbots in the hands of the monks of the abbey. But elections were to take place in the presence of the King or his deputy; as Jocelyn de Brakelond, the Chronicler of the great Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, ingenuously relates,

a strong-minded king could secure the election of any man he pleased. Since the compromise of 1107 between St. Anselm and Henry I, elections of bishops in England have been nominally free, in the hands of the cathedral chapter, and they still are so to-day, but the appointment is actually made by the Prime Minister and Lord Chancellor, in the name of the King.

Thomas Becket murdered. Archbishop Thomas went into exile; violent words were often heard on both sides. In 1170 a truce was patched up and Becket returned to England; but at once the unbending prelate proceeded to excommunicate some of the King's supporters. Then took place the awful scene of December 29, on the steps of the altar of Canterbury Cathedral, when three knights, acting on a hasty word of the passionate King, murdered the Archbishop. His body was buried in the Cathedral, where his shrine became an object of pilgrimages, and where miracles were said to happen. King Henry did penance at the tomb for his fatal words; the control of the Church over criminous clerks was restored, but the rest of the Constitutions of Clarendon remained part of the law of England, and the independence of Church from State was gone. Under the Constitutions, the King continued to control the election of prelates, and all disputes about property between clerks and laymen were tried in the Royal Courts.

Conquest of Ireland. It was just after the murder of Becket that Henry II thought it best to go to Ireland to look after his rights there. Seventeen years earlier Pope Adrian IV (a native of St. Albans) had 'presented' Henry with Ireland, saying that all islands converted to Christianity belonged to the Pope. At that time, the Irish, though certainly Christian, did not follow all the rules and customs of the Roman Church. Henry II accepted the gift, but did nothing till 1169, when he allowed a Baron, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke ('Strongbow'), to go to Ireland and seek his fortune there. Strongbow won most of what is now called



RIEVAULX ABBEY—South Transept, *c.* 1230. The pointed arches and lancet windows of the Early English style.

Leinster from the native chiefs. When Henry II went over to Leinster in 1171, he found Norman knights there, and manors and castles being established on the regular feudal model. He received their allegiance, and from that time till Henry VIII's reign, the English monarch was called *Lord of Ireland*. Henry VIII was the first to take the title of King of Ireland.

Before he left the island, Henry II held a synod of all the Irish clergy at Cashel, and brought the Irish Church within the regular Roman system. Giraldus Cambrensis, the Archdeacon of St. David's, tells the story of this and of the rest of Henry's doings in Ireland, in the *Expugnatio Hibernica* or 'Irish Conquest'. When Henry left the country, he had fixed the seat of English government there, at Dublin, which he elevated to the rank of a city by the grant of a charter. The district north and south of Dublin, which was all that the English held firmly, became known later as the *English Pale*.

The Crusades. Richard I. At Henry's death, England was one of the leading States of Europe. 'Our Island,' says a contemporary verse in the Dialogue of the Exchequer, 'content with its own goods, has no need for strangers. Therefore this land our forefathers deservedly called the bosom of riches, the home of every delight.'[1] A nation so fortunate could not stand aside from the great effort which Western Europe was making to recover the Holy Land. Jerusalem, where our Lord was buried, had passed with the whole of Palestine into the hands of the Saracens, an Arab power, about a century before this time. It had been rescued by the heroic Godfrey of Bouillon and the men of the First Crusade, who were mainly French, in 1099; and a feudal State, on the pattern of Normandy or France, had been established, the 'Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', under the house of Bouillon. But in 1187 the famous Saladin, Sultan of the Saracens, captured Jerusalem, and thus created a great Mohammedan power

[1] *Dialogus de Scaccario*, i. 11.

in Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. To regain the Holy Land from this conqueror, the monarchs of France, the Empire (which under the great Emperor Frederick Barbarossa included Germany and Italy), and England, joined in a great expedition. Henry II, who had taken the Cross, died

OAKHAM CASTLE EXTERIOR about 1180. The germ of the modern house is the early mediaeval *Hall*.

before the Crusade started; but Richard I, his son, took up the burden, and carried off many of the English knights to the Holy Land. Richard was an active, generous man, but fierce and unrestrained. His life was spent in fighting, where he justly gained the name of Lion-heart; and in after years Saracen mothers are said to have used the threat of King Richard's coming, to quiet their children. He was at his best in the Holy Land; cheerful, self-sacrificing, full of resource; the camp was his home, the saddle and the sword

his usual means of exercise. In this character he appears in *The Talisman* of Sir Walter Scott, a novel in which the glamour of the Crusade, the romance of war amid the sands of Syria, are strikingly described. So too he appears in the beautiful story of *Ivanhoe*, where beside the glitter of the

OAKHAM CASTLE INTERIOR.

feudal system, of high life in the castle, we get some description of the life of the Saxon serf.

The Crusade of 1191. The English Crusaders, barons and knights who went at their own expense, and the lesser folk who received pay, landed at Acre on the coast of Syria in 1191. The city was captured, and communications by land thus secured. Then the combined host, English, French, a few Germans, and the Syrian Franks, with the knights of the Hospital and the Temple, took the road for Jerusalem, following the coast, keeping in touch with the ships, which carried the provisions and took on board the sick and wounded. The

French King, Philip Augustus, had gone home after the fall of Acre; the old Emperor Barbarossa had been drowned in a river in Cilicia on his way to the Holy Land. So Richard commanded the host, but he could not take it to Jerusalem. Many English left their bones upon the Syrian sand; those who returned brought back a knowledge of better armour, a greater proficiency in the use of the cross-bow—the long-bow did not come till later—and in castle-building. They learned, too, in their passage, something about the Mediterranean and its trade, and the Mediterranean was then the centre of the world's commerce. About thirty miles from Jerusalem, the Crusading army had to turn back. The city was strong, the bad season was coming, provisions and water were scarce, the numbers of the army, with little chance of drafts from home, were diminished. The historian of the expedition, Richard's chaplain, in his *Itinerary of King Richard* tells how one night the romantic king set off with a few companions, and rode to within a few miles of the Holy City. In the morning, from the fountain of Emmaus, he saw the vague outline of Jerusalem.[1] Then he turned back, with his great cause lost. Yet before his army left the Holy Land, he had made a treaty with Saladin assuring safety to any pilgrims who thereafter should visit Jerusalem; and from that day the Holy City has never been without some faithful Christian servants. Saladin was a noble adversary, who always fought honourably, and showed himself generous both in victory and in defeat. Dante, in the *Divina Commedia*, places him in Limbo, along with other noble heathen—Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Hector, Aeneas, Caesar, and others:

> Vidi quel Bruto che cacciò Tarquino,
> Lucrezia, Julia, Marzia e Corniglia,
> e solo in parte vidi il Saladino. (*Inferno*, iv. 127.)

The bulk of Richard's army, once on the ships, reached England safely, but the King himself was wrecked in the

[1] 'Rex prospiciens vidit eminus civitatem Ierusalem apparere' (*Itin.* v. 49).

Adriatic, and imprisoned in Austria by authority of the Emperor Henry VI. The minstrel Blondel from England sang his way through Germany to the land of the Danube, and cheered the King with singing outside his castle-prison. So ended England's first great enterprise overseas.

Richard did not get back to England till 1194 (March), after the nation had, with the greatest difficulty raised an enormous ransom (£100,000, equal to about £2,000,000 of to-day's currency) for his release. He left England again in May 1194, and never returned. Nearly all his time was spent in war against Philip Augustus, who had been encroaching on the frontier of Normandy. It was not in battle against France, however, that Richard fell. He was terribly avaricious, and when in 1199 his vassal the Viscount of Limoges found some gold plate in the ground, Richard claimed the whole of it. The Viscount refused, and so Richard besieged one of the Limousin castles, Chaluz. In front of this stronghold, the King received his death-wound from the bolt of a cross-bow. Before he died, the castle surrendered. It is well known how Richard generously pardoned the archer who had shot the fatal bolt. It is not so well known, however, how the king's sister, Joanna, disregarded her brother's wish, and had the archer mutilated, flayed alive, and then torn asunder by wild horses.

King John and Magna Carta. The reign of King John, Richard's brother, is famous for the granting of the Great Charter, which fixed for ever the liberties of England; so that, in the view of Bishop Stubbs, the whole of the constitutional history of England since then is simply a commentary on Magna Carta.

Till the reign of John, the barons had been the great danger to English freedom. They had often tried to fetter the King's Government, and to take the jurisdiction into their own hands, away from the popular courts. The attempts of the baronage to make itself an arbitrary ruling class had been checked by the combined action of the Crown and

middle or lower classes. But in the course of this struggle, the Crown, in checking baronial power, had itself gained a power that was almost absolute and uncontrolled. So now the pendulum began to sway the other way; and the barons are found acting with the rest of the people to check the arbitrary power of the King.

Causes producing the Great Charter. Three causes produced the combination against John that culminated in the granting of the Great Charter. The first cause was the opposition aroused by the cruel and lustful nature of the King; the second cause was the loss of Normandy and Poitou in 1204; the third included John's quarrel with the Pope and all the inconveniences to the country which flowed from this.

John shows the character of the house of Anjou at its worst. The family, it was commonly said in Anjou, was sprung from the devil, and Richard I, in his most reckless moments, used to say that from the devil they came and to the devil they would go. All the counts and princes of the house of Anjou, until John's time, were passionate and fierce, and terrible in their anger. Of their ability there was never any question: they were equally distinguished in the field and at the council-table, and so they had risen from being counts of a few square miles in Anjou, to be kings of England and lords of more than half of France. John had much of the ability of Henry II: he was as skilled in diplomacy, and an even abler soldier. But he was indolent, although capable of periods of enormous energy. Strong in mind and body, his life was a failure through lack of purpose and through sheer self-indulgence. He denied himself no pleasure; he could never be counted on to do the work of his kingdom. No one at court was safe from his cruelty and lust, so that at last for his public misgovernment and his private crimes the barons combined to depose him.

The Loss of Normandy. It was scarcely to be expected that the French would indefinitely tolerate the rule of the English

sovereigns in Normandy and in Aquitaine. Accordingly, every French King since the time of William the Conqueror had had an 'English War'. There had been critical times, especially under Henry II, when Louis VII fostered a great revolt of the Barons, in England and in Normandy, in 1173; and again under Richard I, who after his return from the Crusade had to fight against Philip II's forces on the southern border of Normandy. It was to guard the capital of Rouen that Richard built the famous Château Gaillard, at Les Andelys on the Seine, in 1196. Richard was able to keep his possessions as long as he lived, but he died prematurely before Chaluz Castle in the Limousin on April 6, 1199 (see above, p. 71).

After Richard's death the new King of England, John, soon got into trouble with his barons, and so gave the wily Philip Augustus a chance. John was married to Avice, heiress of the Gloucester earldom, but in 1199 he divorced her, probably because they had no children. He then offered himself to the Count of Angoulême; the Count accepted the King's suit for his twelve-year-old daughter Isabella, whose beauty had already attracted John. But Isabella, young as she was, was already betrothed to Count Hugh, of the powerful Poitevin family of Lusignan. Hugh did not take his disappointment easily. He appealed to John's and his own overlord, the King of France. Philip summoned John to the court of Paris to answer the charges of Hugh of Lusignan, but John, naturally, did not go.

Philip soon had another excuse for war. John's elder brother Geoffrey was long since dead, but Geoffrey's son Arthur, Count of Brittany, was alive, aged 15 (in 1202). Arthur claimed the English crown, and, supported by King Philip Augustus, invaded Poitou. He besieged the castle of Mirebeau, which was held by Queen Eleanor, the widow of Henry II, then eighty years old. King John, who could be wonderfully decisive and rapid when he chose, rushed from Le Mans to his mother's assistance, and captured the whole

besieging force (August 1, 1202). Arthur was kept prisoner in the Castle of Rouen, and early next year he disappeared —murdered, most people believed, by John's orders. By this time most of the Norman as well as the Poitevin barons were thoroughly disgusted with John, and when Philip of France, late in the summer of 1203, invaded Normandy, they offered no resistance.

John did nothing to stop the progress of the French arms. While Château Gaillard blocked the way down the Seine, John idled away his time at Rouen. In November he left the duchy and returned, almost alone, to England. Château Gaillard held out bravely till March 6, 1204, and only surrendered through starvation. The other towns of Normandy were quickly reduced, and on June 24, Rouen, the capital, fell. Thus (in addition to Poitou) all Normandy was lost, except the Channel Islands, which remain still to remind us of the domains of William the Conqueror.

Ten years later John brought together a formidable combination of powers against France: the Emperor, Otto IV, and the Count of Flanders invaded the country from the north-east, John himself brought up an army along the Loire. But the army of the Emperor was defeated by a great national army of French at Bouvines, and John, who was at La Roche-au-Moine, had to break up his camp and depart. The loss of Normandy is said to have made the barons in England feel that their lot was now for ever cast with the English people. They were already beginning to feel this when Henry II died. In 1204 there were only seven or eight barons who had estates in Normandy as well as in England.

John rejects the Archbishop chosen by the Pope. The failure to maintain his rule in Normandy and Poitou was a blow to John's prestige, and consequently to his authority, in England. He stood condemned as a statesman. He was now to be condemned as a Christian. In 1205 Archbishop Hubert Walter died, equally distinguished in the affairs of Church and State. The monks of Canterbury, who formed

the Chapter of the Cathedral, met in the presence of the King's deputy to elect a successor. For once some of the monks chose to disregard the custom of electing the King's nominee; the younger and more spirited chose their sub-prior, the rest followed John's wish and chose a certain John de Grey. The monks appealed to Rome for a decision, to Innocent III, the most powerful of mediaeval popes. Innocent set both elections aside, and named as Archbishop, Stephen Langton, a sensible upright Englishman, at that time a Cardinal at the Papal Court. John refused to admit the Archbishop. He stood on firm ground in this dispute, as by the laws of England the Pope had no right to interfere; by a law of William the Conqueror the Pope's decrees or 'bulls' required the King's leave for their entrance into England. Few people, however, respected John, even when his cause was reasonable. Innocent III, arbitrary in his methods, always aimed at good, and the people for the time being acquiesced in his action. But John would not, and forbade Stephen Langton to enter the kingdom. Innocent replied by placing England under an interdict, and for five years all the people were denied the consolation of public religious services. The church doors were locked, and were opened only for baptism and confirmation. In 1209 John was himself excommunicated. Yet he cared little, and went on with his pleasures. But in 1213, menaced with rebellion at home, and a French invasion from without, he submitted to the Pope. He agreed to hold England as a 'fief' from the Papacy, and to pay a tribute of 1,000 marks (£333 6*s*. 8*d*.) each year. Archbishop Stephen came to his See. The triumph of Innocent was complete: he had humbled the fervid and terrible John, and had obtained a hold upon the kingdom which might help to ensure the sovereign's good behaviour. Events, however, showed that Innocent had pushed his victory too far. The surrender of England as a fief to the Papacy disgusted the people with John; but it offended them with the Pope too, for the English were a proud people, and valued their independence. At first,

however, they confined themselves to checking the power of the King : it was not till later that they bent their efforts to limiting the Pope's power in England.

The Great Charter. Meanwhile, John's misdeeds did not cease, his levying of unjust taxes, his neglect and defiance of justice. At last the chief barons joined together to lay the grievances of the country before the King ; they were joined by Archbishop Stephen on behalf of the clergy, and by the Mayor of London on behalf of the towns. At Runnymede, a meadow on the Surrey side of the Thames between Staines and Windsor, the Great Charter was presented to John, and, with vain and fierce regrets, accepted at the sword's point.

The most famous and effective clause in the Great Charter is Article 39 :

'No free man is to be taken or imprisoned or disseised or outlawed or exiled or in any way destroyed, nor will we go against him nor will we send against him, except by the legal judgment of his equals or by the law of the land.'

Although villeins seem to be excluded from the benefit of this rule, they gradually came to share in it, as the legal disabilities of villenage went on dwindling through the centuries. And whatever doubts may now exist concerning the meaning of 'judgment by equals' or 'law of the land', or even 'freemen' as intended by the barons of 1215, those words were always interpreted by the English judges in a wide and liberal sense ; and down to the most recent date the clause has been quoted by the bench to warn even the most powerful administration that it must only deal with citizens under the established law of the land. The other clause, which has had the most far-reaching effect, although the principle often again had to be struggled for, is Article 12, ' No *scutage* or *aid* is to be levied upon our kingdom except by the common counsel of our kingdom'. Scutage and aid were feudal taxes, and the common counsel of the kingdom was only given by the barons assembled in the Magnum Concilium. Yet the principle of taxation with the consent of the community, and only with the consent, was

established by this article. Kings or governments that arbitrarily levied taxes were told in later days that they must conform to the Charter. The Church in England received the confirmation of all its privileges, including 'freedom of elections' (Article 1), and all merchants were guaranteed free trade (subject to the payment of the regular dues): 'all merchants are to have a safe and secure going from England, and coming to England, and remaining and going through England, both by land and water, to buy and sell, without any "maletotes" [unjust impositions], but only paying the ancient and right customs' (Article 41). The barons (one could not expect the mail-clad lords of the early thirteenth century to be perfectly unselfish) were confirmed in their private courts or jurisdictions (Article 34). The villeins are only mentioned once (Article 20): 'the villein if he falls into our mercy is to be amerced, saving his wainage'. This meant that villeins who came into such a condition that they could be taxed or fined at the discretion of the King, must at least have their plough-team or cart and horse and necessary tools left to them; they must not be deprived of the means to make their livelihood.

The importance of Magna Carta. Attempts have been made to cast doubt upon the importance of Magna Carta in the development of the English constitution before the seventeenth century. It is pointed out that Shakespeare, whose play of *King John* covers the years from 1203 to 1216, never once mentions or alludes to the Great Charter. The first commentary on it was written by Chief Justice Coke in the reigns of James I and Charles I. But no arguments can do away with the undoubted fact that all through the thirteenth century, all men who stood up for liberty against autocratic and arbitrary administration never felt safe till they had induced the Crown to 'confirm the Charter'. And whatever personal privileges the barons in 1215 hoped to gain by it, they added a final clause which ensured that benefits should be shared by all, down to the very lowest. Article 60, the

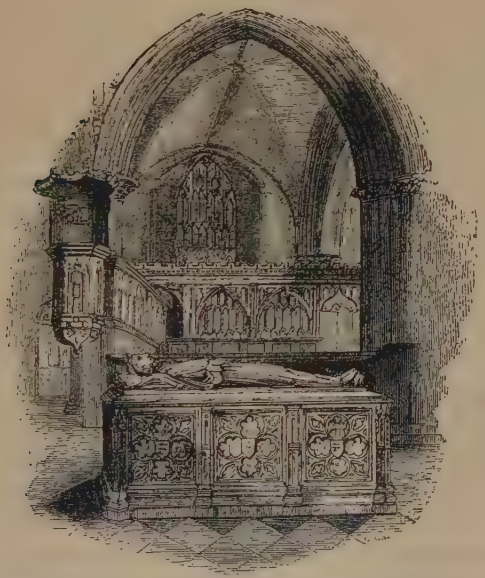
last, enacted that whatever privileges or rights the King gave to his barons, the barons must give to their own men: 'Further all these aforesaid customs and liberties, which we have granted, to be observed on our part towards our own men, everyone in the kingdom, both cleric and lay, will observe on their own part toward their own men'. Thus there could be no special privileges, but whatever one class gained must be passed on to the others.

Death of King John. John was not the man to keep a promise unless it suited him, or unless he was compelled; therefore the barons, in the concluding section of the Charter, obtained the curious right of making war upon the King, in the event of his breaking the oath. They soon had to exercise this anomalous right of civil war; they went further, and offered to make the son of the King of France King of England in John's stead. Prince Louis, afterwards Louis VIII of France, was actually fighting along with the barons in England against the King when John died, after a brilliant brief campaign, at Newark in Nottinghamshire (October 19, 1216). Fatigue and self-indulgence had brought on a high fever. There were rumours, of course, of poison:

> Poison'd—ill-fare—dead, forsook, cast off:
> And none of you will bid the winter come
> To thrust his icy fingers in my maw,
> Nor let my kingdom's rivers take their course
> Through my burn'd bosom, nor entreat the north
> To make his bleak winds kiss my parchèd lips
> And comfort me with cold. I do not ask you much,
> I beg cold comfort; and you are so strait
> And so ungrateful, you deny me that.
>
> (Shakespeare, *History of the Life and Death of King John*, V, vii).

The Navy. His subjects were not ungrateful, for they had little cause for gratitude. In one respect, however, there is credit to be given him. He paid attention (for his own sake) to the Navy, which on occasion put to sea in strength, and, under John's half-brother, the Earl of Salisbury, beat the

French in 1213 off Damme, the port of Bruges. A hundred French ships were burned, and three hundred more were captured. Philip of France, who was besieging Ghent at the time (the Count of Flanders being an ally of King John), had to give up the siege, owing to the loss of his supply-ships, and was compelled to return to France. He had meant originally first to take Ghent and then to invade England. Thus, as so often in our history since then, the Navy saved the country from invasion.



TOMB OF KING JOHN, WORCESTER.
(From a woodcut.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE BEGINNING OF PARLIAMENT

The Great Charter was granted in 1215. King John died next year. The rest of the century was covered by the reigns of only two kings, Henry III and Edward I, under whom parliamentary institutions became established in England.

The Great Council. Every society of human beings (and a nation is only a very large society) has to have some regulating body at the head of it. In the early Middle Ages the regulating body, the government, of the nation was simply the King assisted by the chief barons, either assembled in a small permanent council called the Curia Regis (Court of the King), or more occasionally in a larger assembly called the Magnum or Commune Concilium, the Great or Common Council. This Magnum Concilium consisted, in theory, of all the barons, that is, of all men who held land by owing feudal service directly to the King. These barons consisted of two kinds, *major* and *minor*, differing simply in the size of their estates. Every major baron was summoned to the meetings of the Great Council by a writ, addressed personally to himself. The minor barons were only summoned by a general writ, which the sheriff read aloud or posted up on a wall or tree or market-cross in each county. The result of this system of summoning was that the major barons, being personally and specially invited, usually attended the Great Council, as indeed they could well afford to do. The minor barons, who in later days were known instead as the knights of the shire, receiving only a general invitation (in which no one was mentioned by name), saved themselves the expense of attending the Great Council, where it was felt their presence, not being personally asked for, was not greatly wanted. Thus the laws of England, down to the middle of the thirteenth century, were passed by the King and major barons.

The Great Council and Taxation. As a consequence, however, of Article 12 of Magna Carta, it had become established that no monetary aids (which came in time to mean no taxes of any kind) could be levied in the kingdom without the consent of the Great Council; and accordingly that the Great Council, and only the Great Council, could impose taxation which the whole nation must pay. But the major barons of the Great Council numbered less than a hundred in all; and the knights and freemen of the shires, as well as the burgesses of the towns, naturally objected to paying taxes to which they felt they had never consented.

Itinerant commissions. One method which was tried by all kings to the end of the thirteenth century, in order to meet this difficulty, was to send commissions round the shires. The commissioners would attend the shire court, and bargain with the men of the shire assembled there concerning the proportion which they would pay of the tax that the Great Council had voted. But this was a cumbersome and uneven method; and a distant and warlike shire might escape with a very light assessment. Down to the close of the Middle Ages the great difficulty of every government, in England or elsewhere, was to collect all the money which the central authority had voted.

Concentration of representatives in London. The country at large would not hold itself bound by the votes of forty or fifty barons. The system of sending separate commissioners round the shires was not very successful. A better plan was to bring the shires and towns, or rather representatives of the shires and towns, to Westminster, to add them to the Great Council, which, thus enlarged, could speak for the whole community of England. It was this plan that was tried at different times, and gradually established as a working system, under Henry III and Edward I. The Model Parliament of 1295, which set the form of the British Legislature down to the present day, was created by the simple expedient of continuing to summon the major barons (who became the House

of Lords) by individual writs, and summoning the minor barons (who were called henceforth the knights of the shire), not as a whole (for all would not come), but in the person of two elected from each shire ; and by adding to these, to make the representation of the whole community complete, two burgesses from each burgh, and also deputies of the clergy.

The reign of Henry III. The various experiments, which finally crystallized in the historic British Parliaments, began in the last years of King John's reign. In 1213 he was said by Matthew Paris to have issued writs summoning men from the towns, as well as the barons, to a Great Council at St. Albans. Much more was done in the reign of Henry III. The reign of this king, as far as Henry's own efforts at government were concerned, was a striking failure ; he was in disagreement with large numbers of his people throughout all his active years. The menace of civil war was never absent, and open hostilities were a prominent feature of the latter part of his reign. He himself was a man of no strength of character, the only member of the house of Plantagenet, except Henry VI, of whom this can be said. Matthew Paris calls him the king with the waxen heart. Yet he had many good qualities : Dante calls him the 'king of the simple life', and places him (but not his wife) in Purgatory, with the sure hope of salvation :

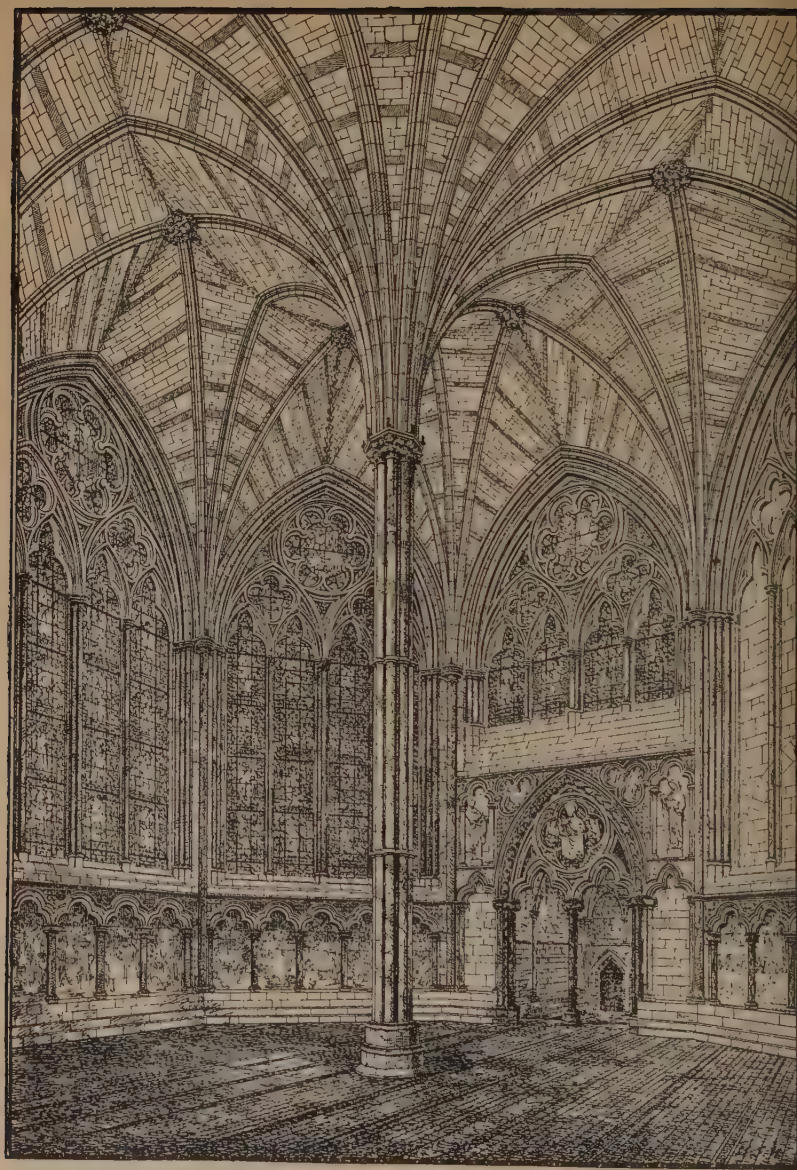
> Vedete il re della semplice vita
> seder là solo, Arrigo d'Inghilterra.
>
> (*Purgatorio*, vii. 131.)

He was a religious man, devoted to the interests of the Catholic Church, fond of his wife and children, gentle in manner, kindly to his friends. It was indeed his friends that the people objected to. He gave his confidence first to the Poitevin courtiers who had come to England with his mother, and subsequently to the Provençals who came with his wife. These people exploited the kingdom : they got the best positions at court, they received large incomes through the King's bounty. What was not dispensed to these aliens was largely

sent to Rome to meet the demands of the Pope. By the year 1258 the situation had grown intolerable; the barons rose to put the Crown under constitutional checks. The greatest baron of all was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who formed the idea of summoning knights and burgesses to the Great Council, to strengthen the control of the country over the arbitrary policy of the Crown.

Experiments in Representation. Before this occurred, however, Henry had been ruling for sixteen years as a minor, under a regency, and for twenty-six more on his own authority (1216–58). The need for money had been growing yearly greater, through his pensions to courtiers, his gifts to the Pope, his war with France. The class of lawyers, which had been growing up since Henry I's reign, was strong in England by this time, and may have suggested the summons of other people beside the barons to the Great Council, so that the levy of taxes might be made easier, or in order to secure some measure of agreement concerning the interpretation or execution of certain clauses of the Great Charter. Thus, in 1225 (while Henry was still a minor), instructions were issued to sheriffs, bidding them send four knights of the shire to a Great Council at Lincoln. In 1254 four knights of each shire were summoned to Westminster, in order that they might grant what the writ of summons calls 'a competent aid' to the King.

Misgovernment under Henry III. Under Henry III the relations between the King and his barons were becoming extremely tense. At the beginning of the reign, public affairs had been transacted by Archbishop Stephen Langton, by the Legate of the Pope, Pandulf, a skilful Italian priest, and William, Earl of Pembroke, an honest man, who as 'Earl Marshal' was head, under the King, of the military system of the land. But William died in 1219. After that the vigorous, straightforward soldier, Hubert de Burgh, who had distinguished himself both on sea and on land, controlled the administration, and, as the people said when he fell, kept England for the English. As Henry grew older, however, the influence of the



WESTMINSTER CHAPTER HOUSE, about 1253. The vault many-ribbed, the windows with the patterned tracery of the Decorated period.

aliens, chief of whom was Peter des Roches, a Poitevin, Bishop of Winchester, grew greater. In 1232 they were able to drive the Justiciar Hubert into exile. From this time affairs went from bad to worse. Peter des Roches became the chief man in the kingdom. When the barons told him that they, as peers, had a definite place in the Constitution of the Realm, he impudently told them there were 'no peers' in England—none, that is to say, in the French sense of the term, which meant equals of the king. The money of the people continued to flow to Rome, where it was largely spent by the Pope in carrying on his fearful struggle with the Emperor Frederick II. Archbishop Stephen had died in 1228. He was succeeded in turn by two Englishmen, but the second, the gentle and saintly Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1234, left his see as a protest against the flagrant misuse of the goods of the Church in England, and went into exile.

In 1236 Henry III married Eleanor of Provence, who brought her Provençal friends and relations with her. At the same time the Papal demands for money grew greater, and were met by the weak king, who is also said to have reserved part of the money for his own court.

King and Pope, alike in this, to one purpose hold,
How to make the clergy yield their silver and their gold.[1]

So says a song of the time. In 1254 matters got worse, for Pope Innocent IV 'offered' the Crown of Sicily (his adversary the Emperor Frederick II was King of Sicily) to Henry's second son Edmund. The offer was accepted, and young Edmund for a time wore Sicilian dress. He never saw his kingdom, but the Pope was able to draw upon England for another £50,000 for his Sicilian war.

The Provisions of Oxford. At last in 1258 the barons, the only people in the country who had any traditions of organized political action, began a definite resistance under Earl Simon

[1] *Political Songs*, ed. Wright, Camden Society, p. 49.

of Leicester. A 'Parliament' of barons only was summoned to Oxford, and the King, seeing that the barons were in sufficient strength to get their own way, assented to the Provisions of Oxford. In this document, written in quaint old French, it was laid down that most of the high civilian officials of the kingdom should only hold office from year to year, and should be appointed, and if satisfactory, continued in their office, by a Council of fifteen barons, who were responsible to another Council of twenty-four, chosen equally by King and barons. There were to be three parliamentary sessions every year : '*il fet a remembrer, ke les XXIV* [*Councillors*] *unt ordene ke treis parlemenz seint par an.*' These parliaments were not to be full assemblies of the people. 'To spare the cost of the commonalty'—*pur esparnier le cust del commun*—twelve elected men (*prodes homes*) were to attend for all the rest.

The baronial government, however, under the Provisions of Oxford did not please the people any better than the King's rule had done. The Annals of Burton Abbey tell how, in 1259,

'The community of the bachelery of England signified to the Lord Edward, son of the King, to the Earl of Gloucester and to others sworn of the Provisions of Oxford, that the lord King had completely done and fulfilled all and single that the Barons had established and imposed upon him ; but that the Barons themselves had done nothing for the good of the State as they had promised, but had only secured their own advantage and the damage of the King, and that unless they did better, the compact must be improved somehow.'

Edward's reply to this was that he had sworn an oath at Oxford and would keep it ; but he would see to it also that the barons should keep theirs. The 'bachelery' were probably the minor barons or knights of the shire, who were excluded from the Councils of the major barons under the Provisions of Oxford. Their appeal to him may have suggested to him to widen the Magnum Concilium (which was then called *Parlementum*) by adding to it knights and burgesses.

Earl Simon's Parliament. From 1259 to 1264 the King and the baronial party tried to agree at various times and often failed. King Louis IX of France was called in to arbitrate in 1264, but at the 'Mise of Amiens' he decided that the laws of England did not impose any checks on the power of the King greater than were contained in the Great Charter. The barons refused to hold by the arbitration they had invited, and made war upon the King. The two sides met on the Sussex Downs near Lewes, on some of the finest riding country in the world. Only a few thousand barons, knights and men at arms, were on either side, all mounted, except the London citizen band which fought on Earl Simon's side. The King's forces were defeated and driven off the field (1264). Henry III himself was captured. Simon at once took steps to call a Parliament, in the name of the King (December 1264).

Full chain mail, A. D. 1277.

This is the first really national Parliament of England. It consisted of Lords, Commoners, and the 'Estate' of the clergy. Five earls and eighteen barons were summoned; one hundred and eighteen bishops, abbots, priors and deans; and two knights, to be elected from each shire, and two burgesses to be elected from certain boroughs. This Parliament met in January, 1265.

The last of Earl Simon. This momentous Parliament was more fruitful in distant than in immediate results. It failed to arrange a system of government acceptable to king and barons. War broke out afresh, and Earl Simon died in the same year in battle in the lovely Vale of Evesham, fighting against the King's son, Prince Edward, who had learnt all his soldiering while campaigning against the Earl. Simon was a foreigner, who had entered the service of the English

King, and become a thorough Englishman. He had stood for orderly government in the country, and had tried to check the undoubted evils that flow from uncontrolled power in the hands of a foolish king. He had tried to find a basis for settled government in a Parliament which should include all 'Estates' or classes in the realm. It was scarcely his fault that the country had not sufficient experience yet to make the system a working success. His followers were not all disinterested, but the people believed that Earl Simon himself was just and high-principled, and when he died a law had to be made by the King's government to prevent Englishmen from worshipping him as a saint.

The Friars. Shortly before the death of Innocent III (1216) two orders of Friars had been instituted, one by Dominic of Calaroga, the other by Francis of Assisi. In 1221 some Dominican Friars came to England, and in 1224 the Franciscans found their way there too. The objects for which St. Dominic and St. Francis had established their orders were to preach continually, to prevent the spread of heresy, and to help the poor in every way they could. The Dominicans soon became influential in England, being greatly favoured by Henry III ; but the Franciscans became the more beloved by the people. The record of their arrival and of their spreading through the country has been kept by an Oxford scholar of that time, Thomas of Eccleston, in his beautiful story, *De Adventu Minorum* (concerning the Arrival of the Minor Friars). They came to Dover from Italy, landing on September 11, 1224. There were only nine men in all in the mission—four clerks and five laymen, headed by Agnellus of Pisa, who had been specially chosen by St. Francis himself to lead the mission. They brought with them no money, and they were simply clad in the long grey cloaks, which gave them their name in England, of the *Grey Friars*.

At this time a University was growing up at Oxford. Paris was still the greatest school of the higher learning in Europe, but in the reign of Henry II, in 1167, during one of the many

quarrels between France and England, the English scholars had been expelled by King Louis VII from Paris; King Henry retaliated by forbidding his subjects for some time to go abroad to study. So Englishmen had to go where they could in their own country. Already there were some schools

THE CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY
receiving a Charter from Edward III.

in existence at Oxford, and after 1167 these became more and more frequented. Towards the end of King John's reign, people began to attend schools at Cambridge also; and gradually all the higher learning of England became concentrated in these two places.

It was natural, therefore, that the Grey Friars (for St. Francis always bade his order to learn and to teach) should, on landing in England, find their way to Oxford. There they

set up in a small house in St. Ebbe's, outside the city wall, where they could tend the poor and the sick. They lived simply on the alms which their grateful patients gave them. By the year 1256 their fame had spread and their numbers in England had risen to 1,242, in forty-nine different districts of the country.

In the thirteenth century there had grown up round the walls and in the dried-up, disused ditches of every city, poor quarters, even more dirty and insanitary than the cities themselves. Here disease was never absent, and leprosy especially was a scourge which the few charitable hospitals then existing could not deal with. It was in these terrible abodes of dirt, misery, and vice, in the outskirts of the cities, that the Franciscans first settled. They tended the sick, and they preached continually in the temporary chapels which were hastily built of wood and mud. As their numbers increased, so did their means. Stately churches gave place to the early wooden chapels, and solid convents of stone were built to house the brethren. Their members studied at the Universities, particularly at Oxford; and of these students a large number became physicians. The Franciscans were the doctors of mediaeval England.

At first the Franciscans had to employ a stranger to lecture for them—Robert Grosseteste, one of the best known Oxford teachers, whom Agnellus of Pisa appointed as Lecturer to the Friars in 1225. Grosseteste, who became Bishop of Lincoln in 1235, remained a friend to the Friars all his life. Soon the Friars were able to provide their own teachers. In 1237 an Oxford scholar called Adam de Marisco joined the order. His fame for learning won him the title of *Doctor Illustris*; but he was more than a learned man, he was a man of affairs. Grosseteste, his friend, took him to the great Council of Lyons in 1245, where Pope Innocent IV was trying to act as arbiter of Europe. Another friend of Adam's was Earl Simon de Montfort, who often consulted him. Adam was a great letter-writer, his correspondents including Earl Simon,

Grosseteste, and Queen Eleanor, the wife of Henry III. He died in 1257.

Another famous friar was Roger Bacon, also, like Adam de Marisco, a Somersetshire man. He was born in 1214, trained at Paris and Oxford, and became the greatest scientist of the age. For a time he was under suspicion, perhaps of dealing in magic, and for ten years (1257–67) he was kept as a sort of prisoner in a Franciscan convent at Paris. Pope Clement IV, however, who had been a friend of Roger's in his university days at Paris, obtained his release; and he was able to settle down once more to his studies. Whether he lived mainly at Paris or at Oxford is not known: it is believed that it was at Oxford he died, in the year 1294. His numerous works include treatises on mathematics, logic, mechanics, chemistry, theology: all the philosophic knowledge of the thirteenth century is found there. His life is wrapped in mystery, however, for in his time men feared him as a magician, and the record of his life has been overcast with legend.

In politics, the influence of the Friars was on the side of progress and liberty. They were strong supporters of Simon de Montfort; and the famous *Song of Lewes*, which tells in verse of the reforming ideas, and the acts of Earl Simon, is believed to have been written by a Franciscan Friar.

King Edward's Accession. With the death of Earl Simon, peace was made in the kingdom. In 1271 the Lord Edward, Henry's elder son, went off to the Holy Land on crusade. He fought against the Saracens round Acre, which was almost all that was left of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. While he was still absent from England, his father died. He landed in England in 1274, after an absence of four years.

Edward was thirty-three years old, tall and dignified, with a commanding presence, and an expression in his eyes of great sweetness. His long hair was dark, his forehead broad and high. He was a splendid horseman and given to all manly exercises. As a soldier, he stood at the head of his

time, both for personal courage in the field and for the care and thought which he gave to the preparations for battle. English law bears the stamp of his genius ; he encouraged commerce ; he had large views for uniting all the British Isles. Like his father, he was, in that rough age, a man of simple and pure life, and deeply attached to his family. His affection

STOKESAY CASTLE (Salop), 1240–90. An example of a fortified dwelling-house. See also Aydon Castle, opposite.

for his wife, Eleanor, sister of the King of Castile, marks one of the fairest pages in the English history of the Middle Age. She accompanied him upon his crusade in Palestine before he became king ; in 1290 she died at Harby in Nottinghamshire. The ' Eleanor Crosses ' which the King set up at each stage where her body rested from Harby to Westminster (the last stage was Charing Cross) were an outward sign of his great grief. His motto was ' Keep troth '—*pactum serva* ; he was indeed the most faithful of men.

Legislation. The reign of this great king lasted till 1307,

and was equally marked by great events in war and in peace. He was a born governor, untiring in his application to business, always thinking out prudent schemes for the better ruling of his kingdom. An able lawyer himself, he studied the laws of the land, and adapted and improved them in a way that has gained him the name of the English Justinian. His law 'Quia Emptores' (1290) encouraged the sale of baronial land, but prevented the further feudalizing of England; if a baron

AYDON CASTLE. NORTHUMBERLAND. Late thirteenth century.

sold a piece of land, the new owner became a baron too, in the sense of owing service only to the King. Thus the chain or series of holdings, the essence of the feudal system, gradually disappeared. The importance of territorial baronies died out. Even a villein could become 'king's man', and therefore free, by buying, if he saved enough money, a few acres of baronial land. Lord Bacon, speaking in James I's reign in Parliament, said that when the sheriff called out the military force of the shire, he no longer took the trouble to ask of any one, 'Whose man are you?'; for practically every one was equal now, being the 'man' of the King.

Another important law was the Statute of Mortmain (1279), which commanded 'that no religious (i.e. monk) or other

person buy or sell land and tenements . . . in such a way that they come into the dead hand (*manum mortuam*), under pain of forfeiture of the same'. Religious bodies, monasteries, colleges, and so forth, never die, so when they acquired land they acquired it permanently. The dead hand never relaxed, landed property ceased to circulate, and the State lost many taxes and men lost the opportunity of acquiring the land they wished to live on. The Statute of Mortmain was not carried out without any exceptions, but from that time corporations have only acquired property when they had a licence or charter from the King allowing them to do so. In this way religious and educational endowments were not prohibited, but they were controlled.

By Quia Emptores and the Statute of Mortmain the possession of land was made more common. But another law, known as 'de Donis'—concerning certain grants of land—gave rise to the system of entail. Land could be held under certain conditions, by which the holder could never sell the land, but must pass it on to his heirs. This 'law of entail' has helped to keep a good part of the land of England in large estates, sometimes heavily encumbered with debts which could not be met by a sale of the land. De Donis itself was done away with in the fifteenth century, but landowners have maintained the system of entails by other legal means.

Edward's Parliaments. In Easter, 1275, the year after his return from the Holy Land, Edward summoned a Parliament to Westminster. To this came not merely barons, but commoners, four men from the boroughs and four knights from the shires. The knights and burgesses were summoned by writs addressed to the sheriff of each county, who was to see to the elections. This Parliament, the writs of which were only discovered in 1910, is the first which contained complete Estates of the Lords and Commons. Simon's Parliament of 1265 had been drawn only from the party which favoured the baronial cause, and moreover the knights were summoned through the sheriffs, while the burgesses, as if they

were a separate, a fourth estate, were summoned through the mayors.

Edward, however, did not at once appreciate the greatness of the experiment he had made. After 1275 he went back to the system of a purely baronial Parliament, the old Magnum Concilium. But a Parliament of one class could not easily represent the opinion of the whole country. So, as the task of government was always growing more complicated, and the difficulty of raising taxes ever greater, Edward in 1295 reverted to the broad-bottomed Parliament which he had tried in 1275 and then apparently forgotten. With the momentous statement, contained in his writ to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that 'what touches all shall be approved by all', he issued summonses to the archbishops and bishops and to sixty-seven abbots, and also to forty-nine earls and barons; all these together formed the estate of the Lords; the lower clergy, below the rank of bishop, were instructed to send 'proctors' or delegates, who formed the Estate of the Clergy; finally, in every county the King directed the sheriff 'without delay to cause to be elected from the county two knights and from each borough two burgesses, and to see that they come to Us at the aforesaid day and to the aforesaid place'. Thus the Estate of the Commons was established in Parliament.

The Clerical Estate, the Proctors of the lower clergy, did not take kindly to Parliament; their attendances became fewer and fewer, till they ceased to come at all after a little more than a hundred years. The other two Estates in Parliament became permanent; the issue of a personal writ to a baron in 1295, or the issue of such a writ to any one in the following centuries, conferred a hereditary right on the family to be summoned to the House of Lords. It was in this way that the Peerage of England, the First Chamber of the Parliament, became hereditary. Some of the major barons, and all the minor barons, who did not receive personal writs of summons, became simply Commoners, who, if they wished to sit in Parliament, must take their chance of being elected as

knights of the shire. The representatives of the shires in Parliament were thus substantial men, with landed property and of good family. They were actually of the same social class as the Lords, but they were elected as Commoners, and had to sit with the Burgesses. Thus England, more fortunate than the other countries of Europe, got an Estate of Commons, as wealthy, as educated, as proud and independent, as the great Estate of the Lords. The House of Lords and House of Commons became powerful and mutually respecting equals, in which the political life of the whole country was concentrated and reflected. Thus to the serious and far-sighted Edward the credit of being a great founder must be given. We might adapt to him the words with which the author of the Dialogue of the Exchequer, in concluding his work, spoke of Henry II:

'Since, then, from these elements the structure of the kingdom's government has arisen, he who gave the beginnings deserves the first, if not the chief, reward. *Valeat, rex illustris!* Long live, noble king!'

TOMB OF A CRUSADER.

CHAPTER IX

GUIENNE, WALES, SCOTLAND

We have now seen how, almost from the earliest times, the men and women in Britain, under the common law that was above them, whether it was Roman, Saxon, or Norman, had learned to live at peace with each other, to pursue their own business, live with their own families, and to submit their differences, when they had any, to the courts. The States of Europe, however, were not in the same condition; the only common law above them—that of the Catholic Church—had no power to settle their differences. They often fell out together and strove for what they wanted by force; and 'the cause of all these evils was the lust for power arising from greed and ambition'.[1] But Edward I was not the man to fight in anything but what appeared to him a just cause, and in no instance did he appeal to arms without the most earnest endeavours to settle his differences by peaceful means.

Apart from Ireland, where since Henry II's day there had been an English colony, and over the whole of which the King had a rather uncertain lordship, there were two other peoples near at hand who did not own English rule. These were the Welsh and the Scots. Across the channel were the French, but the English and they only rubbed shoulders along one short frontier, in Guienne.

Guienne. The war with France over Guienne was inherited by Edward from his father Henry, who in turn had inherited it from King John. The duchy was part of the Angevin inheritance since the days of Henry II. It was governed by the English king in a liberal spirit, the towns especially being left to a very large extent to manage their own affairs. A

[1] Thucydides, iii. 82 *πάντων δ' αὐτῶν αἴτιον ἀρχὴ ἡ διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν.*

brisk trade existed between England and Guienne, and ships plied regularly from Bordeaux to London, bringing wine (the claret for which the Médoc region of Guienne is so famous), and carrying back wool. In 1204 Philip Augustus overran most of the Angevin inheritance, but was unable to conquer Guienne, for which the English king no longer rendered homage.

Communication also went on between Guienne and the Cinque Ports. These were Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney, and Hastings, which were given by William the Conqueror special privileges and special duties with regard to the defence of England by sea. Dover and Hastings were bound to furnish twenty ships each to the King's navy when required, and the other ports contributed in proportion to their size. To the original number of five, two others, Winchelsea and Rye, were subsequently added. Old Winchelsea was overwhelmed by the sea in 1287, and New Winchelsea, the present picturesque town, was founded by Edward I. One of the busiest of the Cinque Ports was Rye, a lovely town set on a steep little hill, and now high and dry on the coastal plain of Sussex.

The French aims. It was inevitable that the French monarchy, which was doing so much to consolidate its kingdom, should aim systematically at absorbing the rich fief of Guienne too. But the English Crown naturally would not give it up; France, on the other hand, would not do without it. War was practically inevitable.

Henry III and Louis IX. If the English Crown had been content to hold only Guienne war might have been avoided, as long, at least, as the saintly King Louis IX of France was alive. Henry III of England, however, resolved to try and regain Poitou, which his father had lost, and only desisted after two sharp defeats at Taillebourg and Saintes (1242). In 1259 he was glad to conclude with Louis IX the famous Peace of Paris, according to which he gave up all claim to Poitou, Anjou, and Normandy, but was confirmed in the possession of Guienne. He was to hold this duchy,

however, as a 'fief' of the French Crown. The French nobles thought that they might have taken Guienne from the weak English monarch, and remonstrated with their King, saying that Guienne belonged to him by natural right, and he ought not to have abandoned his pretensions. But the saintly Louis replied that he desired peace and goodwill above all things; 'and besides,' he shrewdly added (as related by his seneschal, Joinville), 'meseems that what I give him is given to good purpose, since he has not hitherto been my liegeman, but will now have to do me homage.'

The process of penetration by the French. What the saintly King Louis said was true. As long as the English king held the difficult position of vassal to the French Crown for Guienne there were endless opportunities for peaceful penetration. The frontier between France and Guienne was not accurately known; French nobles had land in Guienne; Gascon nobles had land in the French kingdom. Legal disputes about property were continually arising, and the French king, as overlord, had the right of holding a court of appeal. The English king had not time to scrutinize the documents of every Gascon lawsuit, and his seneschals and other officials in Guienne were not always sufficiently alert to prevent the French Crown from advancing its borders by legal means. Thus by one way and another, between 1259 and 1337, the English frontier in Guienne had been pushed back till the duchy became just a narrow strip of land along the coast from the Charente to the Adour. An eminent French historian[1] has given it as his opinion that only the beginning of the 'Hundred Years' War' by Edward III prevented the whole of Guienne, to the last acre, passing under the French Crown.

Edward I and Guienne. Before, however, his grandson had to take up the quarrel, Edward I had tried to settle the difficulty of Guienne. The three years 1286 to 1289 were spent by the King in person in the duchy, fighting and negotiating.

[1] Eugène Déprez, *Les Préliminaires de la Guerre de Cent Ans*, p. 26.

In 1294 there was war again in Guienne, which Edward tried to settle in a peaceful way, giving up some of the outlying districts to Philip IV of France, as a pledge for the due carrying out of the settlement. Peace was made, but Philip refused to hand back the pledges, which therefore remained in French hands. In 1297 Edward arranged for a double invasion of France, through Flanders and through Guienne, and, to meet his military necessities, seized the wool of the English merchants. War was making him arbitrary in his methods. But now nobles and burgesses knew how to act together. The merchants refused to pay: the nobles refused to go to Gascony. The story is told by the monk, Walter of Hemingburgh. Said the Earl Marshal, Roger Bigod:

'I will willingly go with you [to Flanders], O king, riding before you in the first rank, as is my hereditary right. And the king answered: You will even go without me, like the rest. But Bigod said: I am not bound, nor is it my wish, O king, to take the road without you. The king angrily broke out with the words (it is said): By God, earl, you will either go or hang. To him replied the earl: By the same oath, O king, I will neither go nor hang.'

The story is told in Latin; the King and Earl spoke in Norman-French. But there was almost certainly an English version of the story, and in this, as it was first related, 'by God' may simply have been 'Bigod', the Earl's name, in which case the story is even better. The Earl neither went nor was hanged, but Edward, 'in tears,' Matthew of Westminster says, perforce had to reconfirm Magna Carta before the barons and merchants would agree to give their bodies or their goods for the war. In the event, little enough was done in Guienne, for the Scottish war broke out and absorbed all Edward's energies, and the duchy went on shrinking till Edward III again threw down the gauntlet.

Wales. As the French Crown was naturally and inevitably bound to aim at absorbing Guienne, so it would seem the English Crown could scarcely help laying its hold

upon Wales. Scotland might remain independent, but south of the Tweed there was scarcely room for two States. But the truth is, Wales with England did not make two States; it made many; for, since being driven behind their mountains, the Welsh had retained their tribal organization, and as Ireland was an island of kings, so Wales was a land of princes. The pressure of the English barons, the Lords Marcher, military proprietors settled between the English counties and the Welsh tribes, was growing ever steadier, and the clash of arms was seldom absent from the border. No serious attempts, however, had been made to annex the independent parts of Wales since the Norman Conquest. Among their mountains and valleys, in the rich agricultural island of Anglesey, along their pleasant coast, the Welsh lived happily enough, under their chiefs or princes. Fond of music and poetry, they kept open house and made a virtue and a pleasure of hospitality to strangers; and Giraldus Cambrensis, who was court chaplain to Henry II, tells us how in every house it was the duty of the young women to talk agreeably to all strangers and to play to them upon the harp. 'No one ever begs,' he says, 'for the houses of all are common to all.' They loved the free country life, and they loved their country for itself. 'They anxiously', says Giraldus,

'study the defence of their country and liberty; for these they fight, for these they undergo hardships, and for these willingly sacrifice their lives. . . . In time of peace, the young men, by penetrating the deep recesses of the woods, and climbing the tops of mountains, learn by practice to endure fatigue through day and night.'

Their musical instruments, Giraldus says, delighted and charmed the ear. 'In their musical concerts they do not sing in unison, like the inhabitants of other countries, but in many different parts.' They were active and cleanly, 'both sexes exceed any other nation in attention to their teeth, which they render like ivory, by constantly rubbing them with green hazel and wiping with a woollen cloth'.

Edward I's Welsh wars. Edward was resolved that, as far as possible, there should be one peace throughout the land. The Welsh March was always disorderly. Moreover, the independent tribes of Wales had in recent years joined together in a union, not very close indeed, but still sufficiently strong to threaten to encroach on the English land. The Welsh of the north and south, for the first time in history (according to Matthew Paris), joined together under Llewellyn, Lord of Snowdon, to establish their complete independence against England. In the Barons' War, in the struggles of Simon de Montfort against Henry III, Llewellyn had considerably extended his power. Edward I accordingly, on coming to the throne, demanded the oath of allegiance from the Prince of Wales, the title which Llewellyn had assumed. The Prince made difficulties about swearing allegiance, and at last Edward decided that the matter could be settled only by war. In 1277 a skilfully conducted campaign brought Llewellyn to terms : the fleet of the Cinque Ports had captured his granary, the Island of Anglesey, while he himself was shut up by Edward's land forces in the area of Snowdon. The treaty which concluded the war left him Lord of Snowdon, in allegiance to the English Crown. Cardigan and Carmarthen were annexed to England, and English law superseded the old Welsh customs there. In 1282, however, Llewellyn revolted. He was defeated and killed at Orewyn Bridge, in the romantic valley of the Upper Wye. His brother David was subsequently captured ; and Edward, who always took a strictly legal view of any question, had him tried and hanged for treason at Shrewsbury.

The Statute of Wales. At a Parliament held at Rhuddlan, in 1284, it was settled that all that had been left of tribal Wales, Llewellyn's lordship round Snowdon, should be annexed to the English Crown. Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth were 'shired', and English law made to run throughout them. What had been tribal Wales was continued as a Principality, indeed, but the eldest son of the English

WALES
1284-1547
Manchester
Liverpool
ANGLESEY
Conway R.
Deganwy
Beaumaris
Rhuddlan
St Asaph
FLINT
Chester
Bangor
Denbigh
Hawarden
Carnarvon
DENBIGHSHIRE
R. Dee (FLINT)
CARNARVONSHIRE
Criccieth
Chirk
MERIONETH-
SHIRE
Harlech
Oswestry
Stafford
Shrewsbury
R. Mawddach
MONTGOMERY-
SHIRE
Montgomery
R. Severn
Ludlow
RADNOR-
SHIRE
Wigmore
R. Teme
Worcester
CARDIGANSHIRE
Orewyn Bridge
Builth
R. Wye
Cardigan
Hereford
PEMBROKE-
SHIRE
St Davids
CARMARTHEN-
SHIRE
Carmarthen
BRECKNOCK-
SHIRE
Gloucester
Haverfordwest
R. Usk
Monmouth
Kidwelly
MONMOUTHSHIRE
Usk
Pembroke
GLAMORGANSHIRE
Chepstow
Caerphilly
Bristol
Llandaff
1284 .. Statute of Wales annexing the Principality to the English Crown.
1536 ... Act of Union passed, dividing the Marches into shires, and giving seats in Parliament to Welsh counties & boroughs.
Principality of Wales....
Marches.....white
Bishoprics.....✝ Bangor
Castles.....
Battlefields.....
Scale 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 English Miles

king has always been prince. Until 1536, when the Principality was incorporated in England by Act of Parliament, the Prince governed it as his own dependency. Magnificent castles were built to watch over the newly acquired territory: Aberconway Castle, Carnarvon, Criccieth, Harlech, round which towns grew up and trade began to flourish. Archbishop Peckham of Canterbury extended his jurisdiction over the whole of Wales, which in ecclesiastical organization, till the Disestablish-

CARNARVON CASTLE, built by EDWARD I and EDWARD II, 1283–1322. Note the development of the 'curtain wall' with strong embattled towers.

ment Act of 1914, was simply a part of the English Church. Yet the Welsh have never ceased to remember their own history; they read their ancient literature, sing the songs of the bards, speak the Welsh tongue. To all this, however, has been added the Anglo-Norman civilization—in trade, literature, architecture, law. A people need not lose their identity by joining with another to form a larger union. The Welsh may remain proud of being Welsh, while rejoicing in the common name of Briton.

Scottish affairs. The Scottish people had been formed from Picts, Danes, and Angles, as well as from the Celtic tribe of 'Scots', who are said to have come from the north of Ireland. They lived independently, although for the district of Lothian some of their kings had done homage to the English

Crown, while William the Lion, after his capture at Alnwick in 1174, had been forced to swear allegiance to Henry II. In 1286 Alexander III of Scotland was thrown off his horse near Kinghorn, and broke his neck. The heir to his throne was Margaret, the 'Maid of Norway', daughter of Eric, King of Norway. Edward I proposed that his son, Prince Edward,

CARNARVON CASTLE, interior.

should marry the Maid; the Scottish Parliament agreed, but the Maid died in the Orkneys, from the effects of her passage across the North Sea; and all chance of peacefully accomplishing Edward's 'British policy', the policy of making one strong, orderly, and progressive State over the whole island, was gone for three hundred years. The small farmers of the south of Scotland and north of England, in later years, when they saw their cattle being driven off by raiders from over the border, may have had reason to regret that the union by marriage did not succeed in 1290. On the other hand, the heroic War of Independence, and the long-continued, subsequent combat with England, immensely developed the hardihood, self-reliance, and versatility of the Scot. The great

antagonists learnt to respect each other; so that when union came by the succession of a Scottish king to the throne of England in 1603, it was with no sacrifice of pride, no rankling feeling of injury in the soul of the smaller partner. This free and equal union of honourable nations has been, perhaps, the most successful in all history. England and Ireland, Norway and Sweden, Spain and Portugal, Austria and Hungary, are instances of the commoner event—unions made with high hopes that were not realized.

The Award of Norham. On the death of the Maid, the Crown of Scotland was left to be claimed by different people, none of whom had a clear title. The chief claimants were three men, each of whom was an English baron, although holding certain Scottish fiefs too. One was John Balliol, of Barnard Castle, in Durham, and of Galloway in Scotland; the second was Robert Bruce, of Skelton, in Yorkshire, and Annandale in Scotland; the third was John Hastings, of Abergavenny, who became Earl of Pembroke. The Scottish nobles invited Edward I, known to be a skilful lawyer and a just man, to decide the succession. The assembly was held at Norham; Edward first demanded that the old claim of the Norman kings to be overlords of Scotland should be recognized as valid. The Scots acceded to this. Edward then, after due consideration, pronounced in favour of Balliol (1292). Both Balliol and Bruce were descended in the female line from the old Scottish kings, but Balliol's line was the elder. The decision was reasonable. If Edward had wanted to use his position as arbiter to weaken Scotland, he might have given his decision in favour of dividing the kingdom among the three chief claimants—a decision which would have been in accordance with the principles of feudal law.

Origin of the Scottish War. John Balliol thus became King of Scotland, as Edward's 'man', in the same feudal sense, as Edward, for Guienne, was the 'man' of King Philip of France. The result of this subordinate relation of the Scottish to the English Crown was that Edward, as supreme lord, assumed

the right of hearing appeals from the Scottish feudal law courts, and even on his own authority, of summoning Scots barons to London, to have their suits tried at Westminster. The Scots barons rejected this invidious and expensive way of settling their own affairs; accordingly, when King John Balliol showed himself submissive to the English claim, they practically deposed him. John was thus forced, in order to regain his position as leader of the Scottish nation, to take the side of his own subjects, and to act quite independently of Edward. Edward, who, as ever, took a strictly legal view of the situation, regarded this attitude of John as an invasion of his just rights. He summoned the Scottish king to appear before him in Court at Berwick, but John, who knew that he could never face the Scots again if he answered Edward's call, refused to come (1296). Stirred with the enthusiasm of the Scots for their independence, he declared that Scotland was no longer subject in any sense to the English Crown. Edward answered this by invading the country in April 1296. The strong castle of Dunbar, which blocked the east coast road from England to Scotland, held out under the heroic Agnes, Countess of March. But the Scottish army that came to relieve Dunbar was routed; the Castle surrendered; and by July the whole country up to Aberdeen was conquered by Edward's army. John Balliol was taken prisoner, and Scotland became an English province.

The War of Scottish Independence. It was at this time, when the fortunes of the country seemed at their worst, that the heroic period of Scotland began. The Scots were a poor people; only the barons south of the Forth were in experience or equipment a match for the highly trained and splendidly armed English knights. But the south was all in English hands, the barons dispersed, captured, or enlisted in the English cause. Apart from the barons there was no Scottish army. The people were either traders in their ancient little towns, or small farmers, living under lords or chiefs, not so very much richer or more civilized than themselves, north

of the Forth. Yet this poor, inexperienced and, as it seemed, leaderless people was inspired to rise against its powerful conquerors, and to make good its right to settle its own national destiny, to rule its own country.

William Wallace. Edward had made Scotland, which south of Perth, at any rate, he held effectively, into an English province, with a governor, treasurer, justiciar, and sheriffs—all the paraphernalia of a strongly organized government. Peace, order, justice, were the objects of his rule; with Edward, governing was a duty, seriously undertaken, honestly performed. But though the King was just and honest, his agents, the men he had to choose as governors, were rarely as high-principled as the King. Abuses could scarcely be avoided; yet even the most uncorrupt administration could hardly have given satisfaction to the hardy individualistic Scots.

William Wallace, knight of Elderslie in Clydesdale, had a dispute with an English official which ended in blows and the death of the Englishman. He thus became a marked man, with the whole weight of the English Government against him. He joined a band of 'outlaws', men who for one reason or another denied the English authority, and who maintained an independent, if precarious, existence, in the fastnesses of the South of Scotland. Soon, like fire spreading from beacon to beacon, risings arose in every quarter of the country. The revolt became general: small farmers and peasants joined Wallace's standard; a few knights formed a company of cavalry. It was not a feudal army that he had; the rising was essentially popular, and the strength of his forces was in the rustic infantry. From the wooded heights above Stirling on the Forth on September 11, 1297, Wallace watched the English forces under the Earl of Warenne slowly file across the narrow bridge. When about half of them had got across, he fell with all his army upon them and annihilated them.

The Second Invasion of Scotland. The battle of Stirling Bridge (or Cambuskenneth, from the name of the abbey near by) decided the destiny of Scotland, which was henceforth to live

free and independent. There followed, indeed, a 'second conquest', when Edward, summoning to him all the might of England, came north in the next year, 1298, and defeating Wallace at Falkirk (for Edward was a fine soldier, and would not be caught in a trap like Warenne), re-established the English

power northwards to Perth. Yet the English control extended little beyond the forts and castles, and all through the country there were men who refused to acknowledge Edward, men who lived free and unharmed on the produce of their land as their forefathers did. Hostilities never ceased while Wallace was alive. In 1305 the traitor Menteith betrayed the hero to the English. Edward had him tried at London as an English subject, and then executed as a traitor. But Wallace had done his work. He had fixed the revolt in the hearts of the people;

where he had sown, Robert Bruce, the grandson of the claimant of 1292, came in, a mighty harvester, and reaped.

Robert Bruce. Robert Bruce, more correctly called Robert de Bruce, eighth holder of that title, was descended from Robert the first lord, a Norman who came from his estate of Bruis near Cherbourg to join the invasion of William the Conqueror in 1066. Robert de Bruce I, after the Conquest of England, was rewarded, like other Norman knights or barons, with English estates. His share was certain lands in Cleveland in Yorkshire. His son, Robert de Bruce II, was made Lord of Annandale in Dumfriesshire in Scotland, by King David I, whose friendship he had won. Robert VI was the chief rival of Balliol for the Scottish Crown at the Award of Norham in 1292. It was the grandson of this man who became the great leader of the Scottish nation in their final struggle for independence.

The rise of Bruce. Till the year 1306, Robert Bruce, as he is generally called, who had become through his mother Earl of Carrick in Ayrshire, had been on the English side of the struggle, and had fought in Edward's army. But feudalism was a very cosmopolitan system, and when he felt drawn to join the Scottish side, he found himself easily at home among those Scottish barons who joined him in the national cause. They never seem to have thought the worse of him for having followed Edward, according to the terms of his feudal allegiance, even against the Scots. The motives of men are strangely mixed, and history cannot clear Robert Bruce of the charge of self-seeking. Nor can his conduct at the meeting with John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, another claimant for the Scottish Crown, a meeting which ended in Comyn being pierced by Bruce's sword, be termed fair, even in that age, when violent death often followed swiftly upon hot words (1306).

The last contest of Edward I. Misfortune and sore trials followed for a time Robert's ambitious course. In the same year as he slew the 'Red' Comyn he raised the standard of

revolt against England, but was defeated at Methven and forced to take refuge in the fastnesses among the magnificent scenery of the Western Highlands. But finding himself unsafe even there, he took ship across to the small island of Rachrine, off the Antrim coast, where tradition says he was fortified to endure in his course by the persistence with which he saw a spider steadily weaving, over and over again, its broken web. He was soon back in Scotland raising men to meet the English forces. The old lion, Edward I, roused himself for a last effort. He could only travel in a litter, at the rate of about two miles a day. On the morning of July 7, 1307, as he was being raised to a sitting position to take the morning meal, he died in the arms of his attendants. The inscription on his tomb in Westminster Abbey—

Edwardus Primus Scotorum Malleus hic est. Pactum serva.—

commemorates his matchless activity, his determined honest nature.

The reign of Edward II. While Edward was alive, the position of the Scottish national party was desperate; with his death the face of the situation was changed. Men burnished their arms again; Bruce's forces increased rapidly. Whole districts came under his authority, and were able to carry on something of the trade and agriculture without which no war can be maintained. The English Government in the south of Scotland was active enough; its captains were valiant and resourceful, but the new king, Edward II, could not support them sufficiently. He was a pleasure-loving young man, fond of favourites, like the Gascon, Piers Gaveston—

> I mean that vile torpedo,[1] Gaveston,
> That now, I hope, floats on the Irish seas,

as the younger Mortimer calls him in Marlowe's play of *Edward II*. The barons, who had felt what a strong monarch

[1] A *torpedo* was the name of a fish with electric power; it was believed that people who touched it received a shock and died.

like Edward I was, could not tolerate a 'fainéant' like his son. Under the name of Lords Ordainers, led by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the King's cousin, they rose in 1310 and administered the government through a Commission of their own. Gaveston was killed. In 1312 Pope Clement V ordered the dissolution of the Order of the Temple throughout Europe. Edward II obeyed, broke up the Order in England, and shared their estates between himself and the nobles.

Bannockburn. Internal troubles ruined English action in Scotland. It was not till 1313 that the King was able to prepare an invasion. A fine army, numbering perhaps 20,000 fighting men (there would be as many more non-combatants —smiths, farriers, masons, servants, traders), assembled at Berwick and marched through Scotland to relieve Stirling, on the River Forth, the key to Scotland north of that river. They found the Scots army, chiefly footmen, with only a small body of knights on horseback, ready to receive them, below the walls of Stirling. King Robert was a great leader, and his army was in the best of spirits. He had prepared carefully-concealed pits in front of his lines; his men were taught to stand firmly together, shield touching shield, with the formidable long spear held steadily outwards. Thus they stood, unconquerable, like the squares of Highland regiments at Quatre-Bras in 1815. The battle took place on June 24, 1314. Sixteen years before, Edward I had faced the same problem at the battle of Falkirk against Wallace; he had broken the ring of Scottish spearmen by the discharges of his archers. Edward II tried the same tactics; but he sent his archers too far ahead of the rest of his forces, and without adequate protection. Bruce's small corps of cavalry charged into their ranks and cut them down. The concealed pits caused confusion in the lines of English knights and men-at-arms; those who reached the Scottish ranks could make no impression on the sturdy spearmen. The tide of battle turned, and the Scots advanced upon the English lines. Soon the whole of Edward's forces were in flight, save those who lay dead or wounded

upon the trampled blood-stained ground, where now fair green fields delight the eye that looks down from Stirling Castle.

And therefore came it that the fleering [1] Scots,
To England's high disgrace, have made this jig;
'Maids of England, sore may you mourn,—
For your lemans [2] you have lost at Bannockbourn—
With a heave and a ho!
What weeneth [3] the King of England,
So soon to have won Scotland?—
With a rumbelow!'

(Marlowe, *Edward II*, Act II, sc. ii.)

[1] Jeering. [2] Sweethearts. [3] Thinks.

The downfall of Edward II. The Battle of Bannockburn destroyed all hopes of Edward II to recover Scotland. The rest of his reign is a story of quarrelling with his barons. For a year or two he managed to maintain his authority, with the help of Hugh le Despenser, Earl of Winchester, and his son (also called Hugh le Despenser). Thomas of Lancaster would not submit without a struggle, but in March 1322 the Ordainers were defeated by Andrew Harclay, Earl of Carlisle, at Boroughbridge on the Ure in Yorkshire. Edward II, who was at Pontefract at the time, had Lancaster executed there as a traitor. At the advice of the Despensers, he then summoned a Parliament to York, which was attended by members of the three Estates (Lords, Clergy, and Commons) from England, and by representatives from Wales—the only time that Welsh members came to Parliament before the reign of Henry VIII. It was here enacted that no law affecting the whole kingdom should be decided, except with the consent of each of the three Estates. But the King soon fell back into his old ways, and his unpopularity, combined with the intrigues of his wife, Isabella of France, brought about the unfortunate man's deposition and death. Isabella was the sister of King Charles IV of France. In 1325 she offered to go to Paris to conduct negotiations concerning the endless question of Guienne. She disliked her husband, and would have liked to marry Roger Mortimer, the Earl of March. Mortimer went to France too. Around them gathered a number of turbulent spirits. In September 1326 they chartered ships in Holland and sailed across to Orwell (Ipswich), in Suffolk. The nation had no love for Edward, who showed no strength to control the administration and no dignity to uphold his position. He fled from London, was captured in South Wales, and imprisoned in Berkeley Castle. Parliament was induced to declare him deposed, and then he was murdered in his prison (September 21, 1327).

The Independence of Scotland. The son of the murdered

monarch became king as Edward III, under the regency of the infamous Mortimer and Isabella. Edward II had been unpopular, and the people made no attempt to save him, but they did not relish the rule of the regency more, seeing that the government of the kingdom was no more honestly administered under them than before. From the first the new Government's policy was a failure. They still claimed the lordship over Scotland, though they could not exercise it. The English Government had never recognized Robert as King of Scotland : in all English State documents and communications he was still only 'Robert de Bruys'. Robert naturally objected, and in 1327 the Scots invaded England.

The campaign which ensued, in 1327, is an excellent example of the fighting qualities of the Scots. Their method of campaigning has been preserved by the Flemish historian, Jean Froissart (*Chroniques*, ch. xvii).

'These men are right hardy and sore travailing in harness and in wars. For when they will enter into England, within a day and a night they will drive their whole host twenty-four mile, for they are all a-horseback, without it be the trandals and laggers of the host, who follow after afoot. The knights and squires are well horsed, and the common people and other on little hackneys and geldings ; and they carry with them no carts nor chariots, for the diversities of the mountains that they must pass through in the country of Northumberland. They take with them no purveyance of bread nor wine, for their usage and soberness is such in time of war, that they will pass on the journey a great long time with flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink of the river-water without wine, and they neither care for pots nor pans, for they seethe beasts in their own skins. They are ever sure to find plenty of beasts in the country that they will pass through : therefore they carry with them none other purveyance but on their horse between the saddle and the panel they truss a broad plate of metal, and behind the saddle they will have a little sack full of oatmeal, to the intent that when they have eaten of the sodden flesh, then they lay this plate on the fire and temper a little of the oatmeal ; and when the plate is hot, they cast of the thin paste thereon, and so make a little cake

in manner of a cracknell or biscuit, and that they eat and comfort withal their stomachs. Wherefore it is no great marvel though they make greater journeys than other people do. And in this manner were the Scots entered into the said country, and wasted and brent all about as they went and took great number of beasts.'

A mobile adversary like this was difficult to meet, except under circumstances of his own choosing, in marked contrast to the English forces of the period, for these moved with trains of baggage-wagons, miles long. In the autumn of 1327 the young King Edward III was sent with an army of knights and men-at-arms against the Scots, who were ravaging the villages of Durham. For a time the armies faced each other near the River Wear ; in the morning the Scots were gone ! So the campaign proceeded, the Scots not choosing to fight, living on what they took from the country, the English army finding itself wholly unable to bring them to battle. At last the Government, seeing its army wasting away, its money squandered, its prestige ruined, agreed to make peace. By the Treaty of Northampton, April 1328, it acknowledged Robert the Bruce as King of Scotland, without any feudal tie, in complete independence from England. It was the last gift of the great Bruce to the Scottish nation. He died in 1329, having instructed his friend, the good Lord James Douglas, to carry his heart to Granada, where, practical to the last, King Robert saw that real crusading work was still to be done against the Moors. Douglas met his death in carrying out his dead friend's wishes.

Fall of Mortimer. The odious government of Mortimer and Isabella did not last much longer. Its credit was gone, and the Treaty of Northampton only confirmed the general impression of its feebleness. In 1330 Edward III took the opportunity of Parliament being met at Nottingham to carry through a small revolution. Mortimer was seized and executed for his misdeeds, in spite of the shameless Queen's plea, ' Fair son, have pity on the gentle Mortimer '. Isabella

herself was honourably treated by Edward, and lived comfortably enough on her numerous estates in England, frequently visiting her son the king, during the next twenty-eight years. Thus ends the first episode in the blood-stained story of the English Crown in the Later Middle Ages.

CHAPTER X

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR: PART I

Results of the Hundred Years' War. The Hundred Years' War between England and France was the catastrophe of the Later Middle Ages. In each country it may be said to have put a stop to development, moral, social, economic. The character of those who fought on both sides degenerated as time went on; the kings became more despotic, the nobles more ruthless and arrogant, the townsmen more wrapt up in themselves, the peasants more miserable. The mercenary soldier, the reckless, cruel, lustful fighter by trade, became established for three hundred years in Europe; and from the time of the Free Companies of Edward III and Charles VI to the Pandours, Croats, Scottish, Irish, Spanish, and Italians, free pikemen of the Thirty Years' War, Europe groaned at intervals under the horrid scourge.

Gradually out of the futile struggle, order and system began to be evolved. The people on each side, the English and French, took refuge under the autocracy of the Crown. Under popular monarchs each State became solid and efficient. But this did not take place, in England at any rate, until the foreign war, with the evil spirits it engendered, had reacted upon English life, and had produced the internal struggle known as the Wars of the Roses. Then, when peace at last was breathed over the troubled surface of England, came the wonderful efflorescence of the Tudor period, with the concentration of the national energies along the fruitful paths of maritime exploration, literature, commerce.

Causes of the Hundred Years' War. Calamitous as were the effects of the Hundred Years' War while it went on, it was not lightly undertaken by Edward III; nor, if its origin be judged even by the highest standards of that time, does it appear to have been avoidable. The English Crown had held Guienne since 1154. A glance at the map shows that Guienne is no outlying province, peninsula or island, but an integral part of the country which all men recognize as France. It was impossible that the French kings should not pursue the course that lay so obvious before them, of adding it to their kingdom. It was equally impossible that the English kings should tamely give up their great historic heritage. When Edward III came to the throne there was little enough of it left, and had he held his hands longer, it would soon have all been gone.

Minor Causes. No great movement among the human race —not the Anglo-Saxon migration, the Crusades, the Hundred Years' War, the Reformation, nor any other—was ever produced by one motive alone. There were many minor causes pressing Edward III to intervene. With the Scots, after 1330, he had further quarrels; for a brief period he even restored the Balliol family to the throne. But the young Edward Balliol, vassal King of Scotland from 1333 to 1338, proved to be no stronger than his father; and the Scots, by their own efforts and with the help of Philip VI of France, were able to expel him. This was another cause of war between England and France. A third was maritime competition. The English sailors from the Cinque Ports—Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover, Sandwich, and from the ports farther west—Southampton, Lyme, Fowey, Falmouth, and the rest—sailed the channel, and made their way for trade to Dutch harbours to the east, to Bordeaux and to Spanish and Portuguese towns to the west. The sailors of Normandy and Brittany were equally enterprising, and competed for trade. Occasionally the more lawless spirits —English and French, there was not much to choose between them—would seize ships or goods of the other nation. The governments did not keep the peace of the seas in those days;

when one crew plundered another, retaliation was carried out not by the arm of the law, not by the King's navy (which hardly existed), but by the friends of the injured crew. But 'wild justice', as Bacon calls revenge, soon becomes indiscriminate anarchy; the Channel became a scene of piracy. The kings on each side of the Channel called on each other to put a stop to it; but their power was small, and the piracy went on. Edward III, however, like his progenitors, proudly claimed the 'lordship of the Narrow Seas', and as the French denied this, one more cause was added to the motives pressing him to war.

The Succession to the French Crown. After going to war, Edward, in 1340, assumed the title of King of France. The claim is important chiefly because it led Henry V in the next century to renew the war with France, in order to set himself upon the French throne. Edward III, however, seems to have had no expectations of becoming actually King of France, but to have called himself so chiefly to please the men of Flanders, and perhaps also the barons of Guienne, who felt that they were not breaking their feudal allegiance by fighting for an English king, who also called himself liege lord of France. The legal foundation of Edward's claim was the fact that his mother Isabella was the sister of Charles IV, who had died in 1328, without children. The nearest relative, in the male line, of the dead king was his cousin Philip of Valois. The French barons in full assembly at Paris chose Philip (VI), without seriously considering any claim that Edward III might have, although the English Government at the time lodged a formal protest. In 1337, when Edward was preparing for war with France, the Flemish burghers, under a popular leader, James van Artevelde, were involved in disputes with the Count of Flanders, who was supported by Philip VI. It was convenient for him to ally himself with these Flemish burghers, and the relations between him and them were made a little easier by his assumption of the style of the King of France, their legal overlord.

Nature of the War. The Hundred Years' War was not a continuous struggle. It was only in the nineteenth century that a war became an intense struggle, waged without any relaxation of effort from beginning to end. Mediaeval wars were so protracted, because they were waged in a desultory fashion. The summer or autumn was the campaigning season. During the rest of the year there were no regular hostilities, and no soldiers were retained except a few garrisons. The armies employed were comparatively small—generally ten to twelve thousand men. The population as a whole was left to carry on its usual avocations throughout the whole year, unless an army was actually in the neighbourhood, when the smoke of burning villages would ascend to the sky.

Stages of the War. The Hundred Years' War, accordingly, was not fought continuously throughout the year, nor was it fought by any means every year. Between 1338, when the war began, and 1346, the year of the battle of Crécy, there were only two campaigns of any size, in addition to a good deal of local fighting in Brittany, and some important 'raiding' on the frontier of Guienne. Again between 1349, the year of the Black Death, and 1356, the year of the battle of Poitiers, there was little organized fighting. From this time till the formal re-opening of war on the grand scale by Henry V in 1415, with the exception of a few brief and unsuccessful expeditions on the part of the English, there was little more than skirmishing between bands of a few hundred on either side, a style of fighting which suited the French better than the English, whose communications in France were long and expensive to maintain.

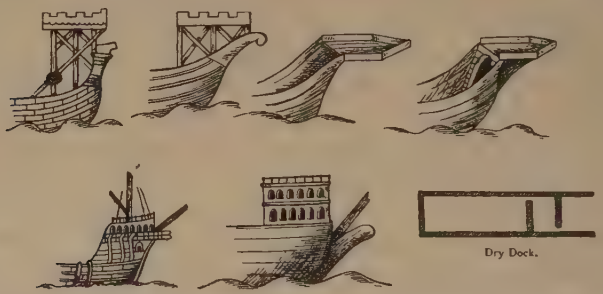
The first part of the Hundred Years' War may be taken as extending from 1338, for twenty years beyond the reign of Edward III, to the year 1396, when Richard II made peace and married the Princess Isabella of France. The second part is from the beginning of the great effort of Henry V, in 1415, to the final loss of the English provinces in 1453. Although the war was not continuously fought, there was probably not

a single year, between 1338 and 1453, when no fighting at all took place between Frenchmen and Englishmen. No one can deny that since then great progress has taken place. Calamitous as are modern wars, full of sadness and suffering as they still remain, peace is yet the normal relation between State and State; and the period of war's agony, when compared with the long years of peace, is, as it were, but a restless watch in the night.

Sluys. Five great events mark the history of the war up to the Treaty of Bretigny: these are the Battle of Sluys (1340), Crécy (1346), the capture of Calais (1347), Poitiers (1356), and then comes the Treaty itself (1360). The Battle of Sluys is not the first, though it is the most famous of the mediaeval sea-fights of England. King John's half-brother, the Earl of Salisbury, had defeated a French fleet off Damme, when the enemy attempted to invade England in 1213; Hubert de Burgh had destroyed another French fleet in 1217. But now, in 1340, the victory took place in different circumstances; it was the English who were coming to invade France, and the French who were defending. Fleets were raised locally in those days. Thus the French navy consisted chiefly of small ships, supplied by the Norman and Breton ports. The English fleet, which was only 'in being' in time of war, consisted of a few King's ships (not more than seven or eight), chartered merchantmen, and ships supplied by the ports of the south and east coast. The King paid for the upkeep of all the ships, except those of the Cinque Ports, while they were at sea.

On June 23, 1340, Edward was sailing towards Flanders. The French fleet was posted in the harbour of the Zwyn, an open estuary now silted up with sand. The battle took its name from the town of Sluys, at the head of the estuary. There were probably about a hundred and fifty of the small ships of that time on either side. As the result of hard fighting on June 24 and 25 (1340) the bulk of the French fleet was destroyed or captured. The battle is graphically described by the chronicler Froissart (chap. l):

'This was on Mid-summer even in the year of our Lord M.CCCXL., all the English fleet was departed out of the river of Thames and took the way to Sluys. And the same time between Blankenberghe and Sluys on the sea was Sir Hugh Quieret, Sir Peter Behucet and Barbevaire, and more than six score great vessels, beside other; and they were of Normans, Vidans, Genoways and Picards about the number of forty thousand: there they were laid by the French king to defend the king of England's passage. The king of England and his came sailing till he came before Sluys: and when he



NAVAL ARCHITECTURE. Illustrations from various original sources showing the evolution of the forecastle through 400 years.

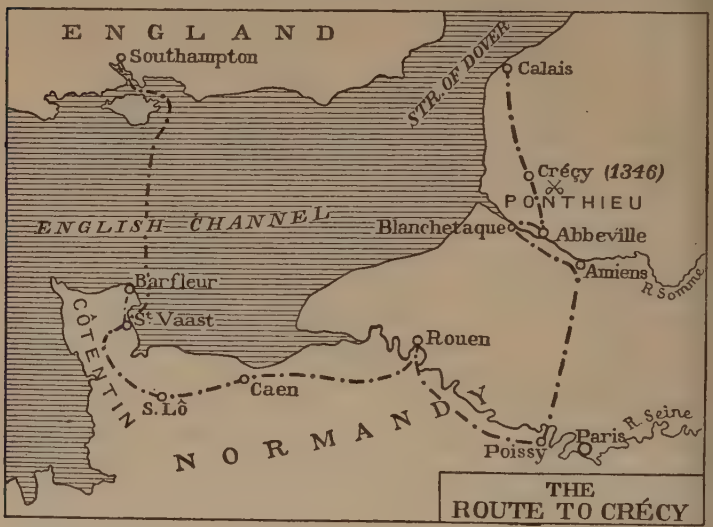
saw so great a number of ships that their masts seemed to be like a great wood, he demanded of the master of his ship what people he thought they were. He answered and said, "Sir, I think they be Normans laid here by the French king, and hath done great displeasure in England, brent your town of Hampton and taken your great ship the *Christofer*." "Ah," quoth the king, "I have long desired to fight with the Frenchmen, and now shall I fight with some of them by the grace of God and Saint George; for truly they have done me so many displeasures, that I shall be revenged, an I may." Then the king set all his ships in order, the greatest before, well furnished with archers, and ever between two ships of archers, he had one ship with men of arms; and then he made another battle to lie aloof, with archers, to comfort even them that were most weary, if need were. . . . There began a sore battle on both parts: archers and cross-bows began to shoot, and men of arms approached and fought hand to hand: and the better to come together they had great hooks and grappers of iron,

to cast out of one ship into another, and so tied them fast together. There were many deeds of arms done, taking and rescuing again, and at last the great *Christofer* was first won by the Englishmen, and all that were within it taken or slain. Then there was great noise and cry, and the Englishmen approached and fortified the *Christofer* with archers, and made him to pass on before to fight with the Genoways. This battle was right fierce and terrible; for the battles on the sea are more dangerous and fiercer than the battles by land: for on the sea there is no reculing nor fleeing; there is no remedy but to fight and to abide fortune, and every man to show his prowess.'

The Campaigns of the Earl of Lancaster. The defeat of the French ships at Sluys was a great boon to English seafaring in the Channel, but it did not make Gascony secure. This was accomplished by Henry, Earl of Lancaster, a dashing leader of feudal cavalry, who made three 'raids' in 1345 and 1346, with some hundreds of English knights and men-at-arms and a thousand or two Gascons. He captured Auberoche and Aiguillon, and sacked Poitiers. These 'chevauchées' of the dashing Earl were extraordinarily successful; they advanced the Gascon frontier, and inspired the English soldiery with a confidence in fighting in France, that carried them through many a long march and hard-fought battle.

Crécy. In summer, 1346, Edward III himself took the field with a fine army, small compared with modern armies, but formidable for those days. It consisted of about 2,500 mounted knights and men-at-arms, 10,000 archers, and perhaps about 10,000 infantry. Sailing from Portsmouth, the fleet landed the soldiers at Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue on July 12, 1346, and proceeded to march through the Côtentin. Barfleur, St. Lô and Caen were entered, and the fleet was filled with the rich booty taken. Then Edward marched inland, apparently without any definite plan, but meaning to find the French army, and then to put to the wager of battle the fortunes of England and France. Philip VI, however, was too cautious to offer battle with the fine army he had

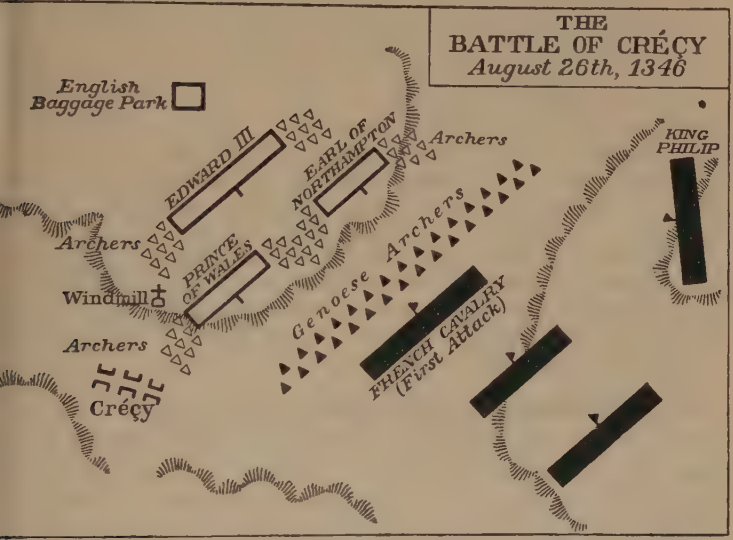
collected. He allowed the English—who had very little idea of the country, no maps, no knowledge of the fords of the Seine—to march practically to the gates of Paris: the burgesses of the capital could plainly mark the advance of the English army, by the smoke of the burning villages. At Poissy Edward crossed the Seine by a bridge, and turned north-east. A number of rivers, however, flowing to the English Channel



barred his way; and by the time he had reached the Somme his army was fatigued and diminished, and the French were ready to fall upon him. The Somme at this point is not a river, it is a broad estuary. Luckily the English scouts obtained information of a ford across it at Blanchetaque, and the army got over in safety. Edward was then able to choose a fair battle-ground, on the outskirts of the Forest of Crécy, in the rolling down-country of Ponthieu. On Saturday, August 26 (1346) the French army, consisting chiefly of knightly cavalry and hired Genoese cross-bowmen, attacked the English with vastly superior numbers; but

discipline won the day against disorderly feudal valour. Froissart (chap. cxxx) ascribes the defeat of the French to impatience and indiscipline.

'The lords and knights of France came not to the assembly together in good order, for some came before and some came after in such haste and evil order that one of them did trouble another. When the French king saw the Englishmen, his



blood changed, and said to his marshalls: "Make the Genoways go on before and begin the battle in the name of God and Saint Denis." There were of the Genoways cross-bows about a fifteen thousand, but they were so weary of going afoot that day a six leagues armed with their cross-bows, that they said to their constables: "We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the ease to do any great deed of arms: we have more need of rest." These words came to the Earl of Alençon, who said: "A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, to be faint and fail now at most need."... When the Genoways were assembled together and began to approach, they made a great leap and cry to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not for all that: then the Genoese again the second time made another leap

and a fell cry, and stept forward a little, and the Englishmen removed not one foot: thirdly again they leapt and cried, and went forth till they came within shot; then they shot fiercely with their cross-bows. Then the English archers stept forth one pace, and let fly their arrows so wholly [together] and so thick, that it seemed snow. When the Genoways felt the arrows piercing through heads, arms and breasts, many of them cast down their cross-bows and did cut their strings and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them fly away, he said: "Slay these rascals, for they shall let and trouble us without reason." Then ye should have seen the men of arms dash in among them and killed a great number of them: and ever still the Englishmen shot whereas they saw the thickest press; the sharp arrows ran into the men of arms and into their horses, and many fell, horse and man, among the Genoways, and when they were down they could not relieve again, the press was so thick that one overthrew another. And also among the Englishmen there were certain rascals that went afoot with great knives, and they went in among the men of arms, and slew and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights and squires, whereof the king of England was after displeased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners.'

The Siege of Calais and the Battle of Neville's Cross. Edward, by hard fighting, by his skilful tactics, and by luck, had been delivered out of the enemy's hands. His next move was to go straight on to Calais, the best harbour on the north of France, a rich fishing port, and a stronghold of those independent French sailors—pirates the English called them—who had made the Channel so dangerous for our shipping. For the time being, the military power of the French was destroyed, and they were in no condition to relieve the town. Only the Scots were able to make a serious attempt, by invading the North of England in October (1346). This military diversion was, however, firmly met in Edward's absence by his wife, Queen Philippa, and by the northern lords, the families of Percy, Neville, and the rest. The Scots were beaten at Neville's Cross in Durham, and their king, David II, taken prisoner. Their diversion had failed, yet it was a well-con-

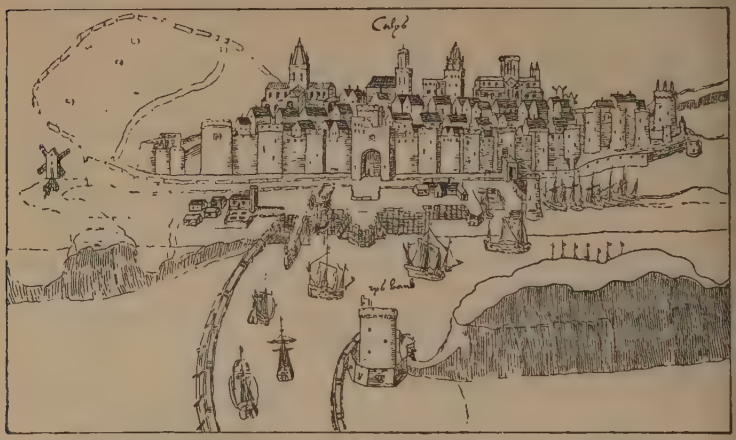
ceived stroke: the English campaigns in France were always hampered by such a menace, the result of the 'Auld Alliance' between Scotland and France begun on July 5, 1295.

> For you shall read how my great grandfather
> Never went with his forces into France,
> But that the Scot on his unfurnish'd kingdom
> Came pouring, like the tide into a breach,
> With ample and brim fulness of his force,
> Galling the gleaned land with hot assays,
> Girding with grievous siege castles and towns;
> That England, being empty of defence,
> Hath shook and trembled at the ill neighbourhood.
>
> (Shakespeare, *Henry V*, I. i).

The town of Calais held out heroically till August 3, 1347, when the garrison opened the gates. As the city was not taken by storm Edward did not put it to the sack, but most of the inhabitants were compelled to leave their homes, taking with them their personal property, but nothing more. The French Government provided them with homes in the kingdom of France. Englishmen were invited by Edward III to come and settle in Calais, being promised land there without payment. Thus Calais became an English colony, the first in the true sense of the word—a district outside the British Isles, settled by British families. The exporting of wool from England was all done through Calais by a trading Company known as the 'Society of the Staple', established in 1362. The Company paid, on an average, dues of £20,000 a year to the Crown for its privileges. Calais remained as a thriving British colony, an outpost of empire on French soil, till 1558.

Brittany. After the victory of Crécy and the capture of Calais, the English accomplished very little in France for nearly ten years. Edward, however, was successful in taking the side of John of Montfort in a disputed succession to the Duchy of Brittany. The French Government naturally supported the other side, but their cause was defeated in the two small but important battles of La Roche Derrien (1347), and seventeen years later Auray (1364). For the next

twenty years the Duchy of Brittany was favourable to the English side. After the battle of La Roche Derrien, however, the war in France degenerated into a desultory struggle of 'partisans', captains and companies of soldiers, who fought under the colours of the English or French Crown, but who received little or no support from home, and lived by plunder. Whole regions of France were devastated. The French, who were unequal to the English in the open field,



CALAIS TOWN AND HARBOUR. From an old MS.

learned the methods of irregular warfare—a harassing kind of operations in which, on the French side, the young Breton knight Bertrand du Guesclin particularly distinguished himself. The pestilence, known as the Black Death, in 1349, for a time paralysed both the English and French nations, and put a stop to regular hostilities.

Poitiers. It was the Black Death (1349) that was mainly responsible for the suspension of hostilities in the years following the battle of Crécy. In 1356, however, the English Government felt strong enough to renew the war, and an invasion of the French kingdom was planned by Edward, the 'Black' Prince of Wales, the energetic Governor of Guienne. He had cap-

tured the important city of Périgueux early in the year. On August 9 (1356) he set forth with about six thousand men, and marched by a circular route to the Loire at Tours. The spoils gained in this rich country, full of prosperous villages situated in corn-land and wine-land, were enormous. King John of France, however, had gathered an army to meet

the powerful raider, an army at least three times the size of the English force. Being refused a truce, the Black Prince went forward, and on September 19 offered battle beside the village of Maupertuis, six miles from the beautiful old city of Poitiers, from which the battle takes its name. The main body of the English consisted of archers, who were strongly posted in a gap with hedges on either side. The Prince held himself in reserve on the hill near by, while the Captal de Buch, an enterprising Gascon knight, was sent with some cavalry

round the hill to make a surprise attack. Everything went successfully for the English. The French advanced in solid 'battles', on foot, but were shot down by the English archers. The Prince launched his reserves at the right moment. The surprise attack of the Captal de Buch on the French rear completed the rout. The struggle, which was both exhausting and bloody, lasted many hours, and at the end of the day the French King was a prisoner, and his soldiers either captive, dead, or in flight. It was years before the French recovered from the blow, and although, under a regency (for King John never permanently regained his freedom) they maintained the partisan war for a few more years, in 1360 they had no resource left but to agree to the English terms by the Treaty of Bretigny[1] (May 8, 1360), confirmed by the Treaty of Calais the same year, October 24.

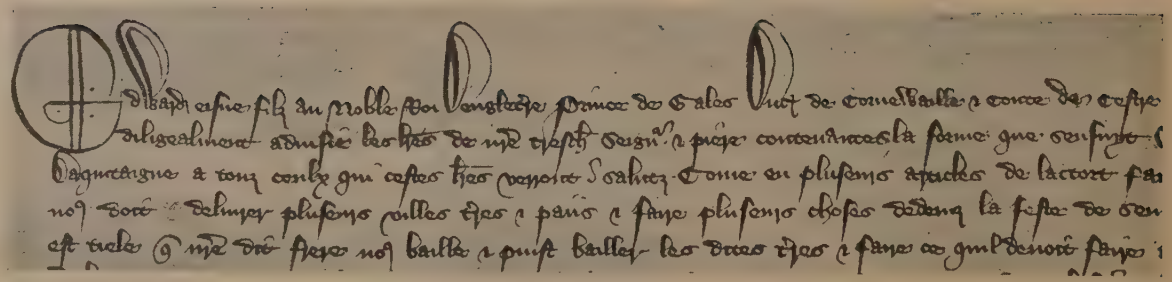
The Treaty of Bretigny. By the terms of this Treaty Edward gained what he had really been fighting for, not the Crown of France, but the full possession of the duchy of Guienne, extended to include the large countics of Poitou, Saintonge, Périgord, also the Angoumois, the Limousin, Quercy, Rouergue, Agenais, Bigorre. These lands were to be held by the English King, as Duke of Guienne, in full sovereignty, without any tie of vassalage to the French Crown. Moreover, Calais and Guisnes, with the county of Ponthieu added thereto, were confirmed in the English possession. Thus with Guienne restored practically to the same limits as under Henry II, and with Calais and the large 'Pale' round it in Edward's hands, the English power stood high and, as it seemed, unassailable in France. The struggle had been exhausting, and both sides needed peace; but, as events showed, weakened, devastated France was still stronger for attack, and in the remaining part of Edward's reign, much of the ground won by such glorious victories was lost by a slow and almost inevitable process of attrition.

[1] Bretigny is a village twenty miles SW. of Paris. The preliminary treaty of peace was signed here.

A modern State which has a standing army and a large number of able and experienced officials can hold outlying territories and govern them efficiently, but a mediaeval State had practically no standing army and very few officials. It

relied chiefly upon noblemen, who held the land by the obligation of military service, to watch over the Government's interests. This system proved ineffective against the steady pressure which the French kept up when the war was renewed after 1369.

The Black Prince in Guienne. War broke out in conse-



HANDWRITING 1360. Deed of the Black Prince relating to the Treaty of Bretigny.[1]

[1] Edward eisne filz au Noble Roi Denglet(er)re Prince de Gales Duc de Cornewaille (et) Conte de Cestre | diligealment advisie les l(ett)res de no(st)re Seign(ur) (et) piere contenantes la forme que sensuyt | Daquitaigne a touz ceulx qui cestes l(ett)res verront salutz.

quence of the expedition which the Black Prince made from Guienne into Spain to help King Pedro of Castile against a pretender to the Castilian throne, Henry, Count of Trastamara. The Black Prince sympathized with the lawful monarch, and hoped, possibly, also to gain valuable support from Castile in return. The indefatigable Bertrand du Guesclin had, since the Peace of Bretigny, been fighting in the war of the Breton succession. Failing there (see pp. 127–8), he betook himself, with the 'free' companies of French soldiers, who would follow him anywhere, to Castile, and took service under Henry of Trastamara. The forces met on the field of Najara, in the valley of the Ebro, the two heroes, Edward of Wales and Bertrand du Guesclin, undoubtedly the greatest captains of the day, fighting for their own country under the banners of an alien cause (April, 1367). The Black Prince won the day, and captured the indomitable Breton. Pedro the Cruel remained for a short time longer on the Castilian throne, but sent his English saviours back without recompense. Broken in health and fortune (for he had spent the moneys of his duchy in the cause of Pedro), the Black Prince returned to find Guienne on the verge of revolt. The French crown hastened to renew the war, and from that time till the accession of Henry V, the English cause declined.

THE BLACK PRINCE.

Decline of the English power. There are three reasons

for the decline of the English power on the frontier of Guienne. In the first place, the King, Edward III, had lost his energy. The dashing knight of Crécy was becoming old prematurely, an abandoned man given up to his loose pleasures. His hold upon the administration was relaxed ; greedy, unscrupulous men were allowed to make fortunes out of the Treasury, and worthless favourites spoiled the efforts of the honest men. Secondly, the power of Castile was added to the French side. Henry of Trastamara, after the Black Prince had gone back to Guienne, was able to drive Pedro the Cruel off the throne, and, remembering what du Guesclin had done, repaid the debt by energetically supporting the French. Castile had a fleet, and this, added to the French ships, was able to take the command of the sea from the English navy, which suffered from the financial corruption of Edward's last years. In 1370 an English fleet, under the Earl of Pembroke, was actually beaten by the Castilian and French navies, in open fight, off La Rochelle.

The third reason for the decline of the English power is to be found in the activity and resourcefulness of Bertrand du Guesclin. The French King, Charles V (King John had died in England in 1364), knew the value of the stalwart Breton too well to grudge his ransom ; and Bertrand was no sooner released than he renewed the 'partisan' war against the English. The mercenary soldiers of the time—hard, skilful men whose trade was war—came to his standard. Never offering pitched battle to the English, he nevertheless gave them no rest. He would besiege small places, cut off convoys, or stragglers, devastate half a county by a sudden raid, and wear out the vigilance of every garrison commander. When he died, in 1380, he had the satisfaction to know that the English power had shrunk, and that the 'Bretigny terms' were, partially at least, undone. Edward died in 1377, after the English power had been gradually expelled from Poitou. At the same time we also lost our hold on Brittany. The war of attrition dragged on, with various truces and periods of

comparative quiet, till in 1396 Richard II concluded something like peace—a truce for twenty-five years. The Hundred Years' War, as far as it had gone, had not saved the position in Guienne; fifty years of bloodshed had left the English with little more than the boundaries of 1337 (see p. 99). Calais, however, was firmly held in the north, an outpost of English power and a centre of trade.

CHAPTER XI

CHAUCER, WYCLIFFE, AND THE REIGN OF RICHARD II

Condition of England in the fourteenth century. The energy of the English nation, which achieved such brilliant success at Crécy and Poitiers, showed itself also along other lines of development, in literature and in religion. There is no doubt that before the Black Death of 1349, and again after the Peace of Bretigny, 1360, England was a prosperous country. The nobles did not devote their whole time to war, but were interested in art and letters. The great Churchmen were raising the fabrics of magnificent English cathedrals. The middle classes were proud and strong; the peasants were beginning to acquire greater freedom and more possession of the soil. The wool-trade, which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had been fostered by the Cistercians, had now become a great national business. It was from England that Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and the other Flemish towns, imported the raw material for their cloth manufactures. It is not too much to say that the prosperity of mediaeval England, her foreign trade and her shipping, depended upon wool.

The villeins. The bulk of the peasants at the beginning of the fourteenth century were still villeins, small tenants on manorial estates, bound to work so many days each week for their lords, and prevented by law from leaving the land. In practice, however, they were becoming free. The lords of

the manors allowed their villeins, instead of working so many days each week, to pay a small sum of money for their holdings, —for example, fourpence an acre. This arrangement suited both lord and villein. The lord got cash, with which he could

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL. West front, an early example of Perpendicular style, about 1360.

hire a constant supply of labour for his own 'demesne' or farm. The villein was relieved from the labour services, and could devote all his time to his own holding, or could hire himself as a labourer elsewhere. Under the circumstances the villein lived with his family in his own cottage, comfortably enough. He grew his own wheat, killed and cured his own

bacon, brewed his own ale. He might be one of the four elected from the manor to attend the shire-moot, to hear small law-suits under the sheriff, or to elect the county member of parliament. His children might rise in the world; by settling in a borough for a year and a day, a villein's son became free, and might rise to be a merchant or a mayor; another son, by becoming a priest or monk, might gain education and a social position, which would enable him to help the rest of his family.

The Black Death. This prosperous condition of the people was destroyed, suddenly, though only temporarily, by the Black Death, the bubonic plague, which, coming from Asia, from China apparently, steadily worked its devastating way across Europe, reaching England about the middle of the year 1348. Half the people are said to have perished; villages were almost emptied, the land went out of cultivation; in the crowded insanitary towns the people died like flies, and their bodies were collected and thrown into pits.

The Statute of Labourers. The immediate economic result of the Black Death was a terrible scarcity of labourers to till the land. Those who were left asked double the wages which they had formerly received. Parliament, in 1351, passed an Act, the famous Statute of Labourers, stating that wages should be on just the same scale as they had been before the coming of the Black Death. The labourers bitterly resented this law, and it had little effect, except to exasperate class against class. With a blundering effort to be just, Parliament had also enacted in the Statute of Labourers that the prices of food should remain likewise as they had been before. The whole statute was a failure; the employers themselves, competing for labour, offered higher wages; while high prices were really beneficial in stimulating people to produce as much food as possible. Yet attempts were made to enforce the statute at various times, and this, combined with other causes, produced in 1381 an outburst of savage rebellion.

The Peasants' Revolt, 1381. Edward III had been succeeded,

in 1377, by Richard II, a boy of ten years, son of the Black Prince. The Government, which had been so corrupt in the last years of Edward III, did not improve when the King was a minor, with no strength to control powerful and greedy courtiers. The war with France dragged on, mournfully, without even gleams of success. Taxes were increased. The

CIVIL COSTUME.

About 1200.

Temp. Ed. II.

WM. OF HATFIELD, Temp. Ed. III.

mutterings of the lower class became louder; open hatred began to be shown to the landowners, who were considered to be responsible for the Statute of Labourers. William Langland, the son of an Oxfordshire yeoman (or free peasant), in the Vision of Piers Plowman, shows the condition of the labouring classes:

He grieveth him against God, and murmurs against reason,
And then curseth he the king, and all his counsel after,
Such laws to loke [1], labourers to grieve.

. . . . . .

[1] Loke = enforce.

'I have no penny,' quoth Peers: 'pullets for to buy,
Nor neither geese nor piglets; but two green cheeses,
A few curds and cream, and an oaten cake.
And two loaves of beans and bran baked for my bairnies.
And besides I say, by my soul, I have no salt bacon,
Nor no egg, by Christ, collops [1] for to make.
But I have parsley and leeks and many cabbages,
And eke a cow and a calf and a cart-horse
To draw to field my dung, the while the drought lasteth.
And with this livelihood we might live till Lammas time;
And by that time I hope to have harvest in my croft;
And then may I make ready the dinner as I like best.'
All the poor people tho' peashells fetched:
Beans and baked apples they brought in their laps,
Small onions and chervils and ripe cherries many,
And proffered Peers this present to please with [2] hunger.

The English labourer, as the poem shows, remembered days when fare had been more plentiful. Now the spectre of famine haunted him; he was never certain whether he could feed his children till the harvest came in. The high taxation, the carelessness of the landowners, who spent so much of their time in London or France, the repressive laws which prevented men from moving freely about the country, to sell their labour or their produce, caused a general discontent which blazed out in 1381, when Wat Tyler, the Kentishman, struck down the tax-gatherer, who was insulting him and his family. The men of Kent flocked together. At St. Albans the villeins rose against the great monastery which owned all the land there; in Norfolk and Suffolk the people rose too, to burn the houses and records of their landlords.

The Kentishmen at London. The Government was taken by surprise. The Kentishmen marched to London, sacking the manor houses all the way. At Blackheath they held a great meeting and voiced their grievances. It was then that John Ball, a priest who for years had been working among

[1] Collops = eggs and bacon.
[2] With. Arrange thus: to please hunger with.

the people, preached a sermon in which he quoted the famous rhyme :

When Adam dalf and Eve span,
Who was then a gentilman ?

The doctrine of the equality of all men was thus popularly announced in the country. Wicked deeds were done by the insurgents ; the Archbishop Simon of Sudbury was murdered, and John of Gaunt's palace, the Savoy, was burned. At Smithfield young King Richard came boldly with the Mayor of London, Walworth, to meet the insurgents and to hear their grievances. They demanded the abolition of villeinage, Richard consented. At the interview Wat Tyler showed himself truculent and independent. He made some threatening gesture, and the Mayor of London at once drew his sword and cut him down. Then Tyler (he either made tiles, or roofed houses for his trade) fell with a cry of 'Treason!' as if he thought himself a king. Angry shouts arose from the insurgents, and they began to bend their bows. Richard, however, rose to the occasion, and riding fearlessly forward, called out, 'I will be your leader'. The rebels, awed by the majesty, the beauty and resolute bearing of the young monarch, relaxed their bows. The tumult died down, and the men returned to their country homes. Then the King's Council, which had shown no spirit during the rising, recovered its nerve, and started hunting out the rebels. Some hundreds suffered death, and the promise of the King to abolish villeinage was not fulfilled.

The results of the Peasants' Revolt. In spite of its apparent failure, the Peasants' Revolt in the long run contributed greatly to put an end to villeinage. To avoid the continual friction caused by trying to keep his villeins to their labour services, the lord began again to accept quit-rents. This meant that the labour services of a villein were 'commuted' for a fixed annual payment, for instance, sevenpence an acre. The agreement was recorded in the rolls of the manor, and a copy of it was given to the villein, who thenceforth held his land by 'copy'. So long as he held his copy, and

paid his dues, the copyholder was in a secure position, and almost as good as a freeholder. He held his land 'according to the custom of the manor', which custom had to be as old as the reign of Richard II, and could not be changed, either by lord or tenant. He could do anything with his land, except fell trees or dig quarries; he could even sell it. He became in fact a member of the great yeomanry of England. Gradually people came to forget or to disregard the fact that copyholders had originally been villeins, and by the end of the fifteenth century villeinage as a legal status had practically ceased to exist.

About this time the leasehold system also became common. A lease 'for three lives' lasted throughout the lifetime of three persons all of whom were living when the agreement was made. With the death of the last lessor, the lord could allow the lease to be renewed on payment of a 'fine', or he could take back the land, and 'enclose' it in one of his farms. The enclosure of copyholds and leaseholds into sheep-farms later greatly reduced the numbers of the rural population.

Wycliffe. Thus, in the last years of Edward III and in the reign of Richard II, forces were at work gradually making the peasantry more free. About the same time, John Wycliffe, speculating on the problems of theology, was advancing along the path of religious freedom. Wycliffe was a clerk in holy orders, who spent the first half of his active life lecturing at Oxford (he was Master of Balliol College in 1361), and the last part as parish priest at Lutterworth. At this time the Pope lived, not at Rome, but at Avignon, owing to certain political disturbances in Italy; and in the sunny land of Provence the Papal Court became gay and worldly, and the discipline of the whole Church was relaxed. The Pope took to appointing Italians and Frenchmen to rich benefices in England, to canonries or bishoprics which they never visited. To prevent this the English Parliament had passed the Statute of Provisors in 1351, declaring all nominations made by the Pope in England to be null and void. Two years later, 1353, the

Statute of Praemunire forbade any one to submit their grievances to any court outside the realm, meaning, of course, the Papal Court.

Of this desire to restrict the Pope's power in England, where it was being misused, Wycliffe was an ardent spokesman.

JOHN WYCLIFFE.

He was equally critical of worldly English bishops, whose wealth was too great, he said, and should be used to increase the stipends of the lesser clergy, or to relieve the poor. The great nobles also, he said, had a responsibility; their 'dominion' was founded upon grace, and those who lived not in grace but in sin, had no right to riches or authority.

Wycliffe and the English people. In these views the mass of the people concurred. A spirit of sadness breathes through much of the literature of Richard II's reign. The people, like Piers, the typical peasant of Langland's poem, felt their lot to be hard. Wycliffe gathered a body of disciples round him, and sent them out, 'the Poor Preachers', to work among the common people, and make the Gospel better known to them. He and his pupils translated the New Testament into homely English, which his preachers could read aloud from manuscript to their hearers. Many men came to know the Gospel story as they had never known it before. But the clergy as a whole looked askance on the Poor Preachers and their followers, who received the curious name of Lollards or babblers. The Lollards became tainted with heresy. For Wycliffe in his theological speculations had come to cast some doubt on the Holy Eucharist, on the change of the bread and wine at the Communion into the body and blood of Christ. In the next reign, that of Henry IV, the Government and the Church began to seek out and destroy the Lollards, burning them by authority of the Act *de haeretico comburendo* (1401). Yet John Wycliffe himself, the Morning Star of the Reformation, died a Catholic priest, just after having celebrated the Mass, in his church at Lutterworth (1384). He was the greatest thinker of his day, though he expressed his thoughts in crabbed Latin prose, which hides his meaning from almost all who read. The translation of the New Testament and his English sermons are the foundation of English prose, the most noble body of literature that has arisen since classical times. This much he did for letters and education. Another ecclesiastic of that time, one of the wealthy bishops whom Wycliffe thought too like great nobles, founded two of the greatest educational institutions of the kingdom. This man was William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England under Edward III. In the historic town of Winchester he built and endowed a great boys' school (1373); in Oxford he established New College (1379), to which the boys from Winchester

could proceed for higher learning, to become good servants of Church and State.

Chaucer. England was fortunate in the last half of the fourteenth century in seeing the foundation of the grand English prose literature with Wycliffe, and of English poetry with Chaucer. Before this there is the Anglo-Saxon literature —Cædmon, Cynewulf, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. But between the Anglo-Saxon period and the latter part of the reign of Edward III there is little more than the Latin drinking songs of Walter Map in the reign of Henry II, or the rude though highly patriotic verses of Laurence Minot, an unknown soldier who followed the early wars of Edward III. The work of Chaucer, however, is not merely among the earliest poetry, written in the English that we can understand, but it is among the most beautiful and charming of all our literature. His father was a prosperous vintner or wine merchant of Thames Street, London, who was wise enough to give his son the best education of the day, and who, though not a nobleman, was able to procure young Geoffrey a post at the King's Court. In 1359 Chaucer fought in France and was taken prisoner; next year, however, he was ransomed at the Peace of Bretigny. For the next twenty-five years of his life he was frequently employed in diplomatic business; in 1370, for instance, he was sent to Genoa on the English mission which was negotiating a commercial treaty. The influence of Italy may be traced all through his works—the influence, in particular, of Petrarch the poet, and of Boccaccio the

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

story-teller. In 1376 Chaucer was elected to Parliament as a knight of the shire for Kent. This assembly, known as the Good Parliament, is famous for the reforms in administration which it forced upon the decadent government of Edward III. He died in 1400, leaving one son, and a daughter who became a nun in the Abbey of Barking.

Chaucer's works. Chaucer was a man of affairs; busy,

WINCHESTER COLLEGE, founded 1373.

practical, moving among the great men of the land. Yet whether travelling, fighting, or negotiating, he never lost his love of letters, and found time to write the long poems, beautiful, finished stories, which remain to give pleasure to all the ages. The love of letters is so strong and so permanent, so absorbing is the desire to write and express oneself in the fittest language, that no occupations can distract, and no misfortunes quench it. Chaucer had to write his poems amid the calls of business and amid misfortune, and when he died he was one of the first of English poets in every sense. It was in the period after his return from Italy that Chaucer

wrote his greatest poems, stimulated by the literary men he had met there, by the rich glories of its buildings, by the glamour of its sunny landscapes. It was then that he wrote 'Troilus and Criseyde', 'The House of Fame', 'The Legende of Good Women'. The work, however, which is most read to-day is the ever-fresh *Canterbury Tales*, begun before he went to Italy in 1373, and on which he was working from time to time for the rest of his life. It is the story of a number of pilgrims who met in the Tabard Inn at Southwark, to go on pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury:

> And specially, from every shires ende
> Of Engelonde, to Caunterbury they wende,
> The holy blisful martir for to seke,
> That hem hath holpen, whan that they were seke.

The host of the Tabard Inn proposed that the pilgrims on their way should each tell a story to beguile the time. There were thirty pilgrims in all, so that if completed there would have been thirty tales. Though working, as it seems, to the last, Chaucer had only completed twenty-four tales when he died, in A. D. 1400; yet these number 18,000 lines, a very noble body of work. The different tales—the Knight's, the Squire's, the Nun's Priest's tale, and so forth—are all told with great humour, with great wealth of language and purity of diction, the plots being drawn from ancient history, from legends, and from stories of the day current in Italy. In the Prologue or introduction to the tales, each pilgrim is described in turn, and we are presented with the most living picture of English society that has come down from the Middle Ages. It is chiefly the great middle class of England that is portrayed, the country gentlemen, the sailors, the students and men of learning, the clergy, the substantial tradesmen, and the small farmers. First comes the knight:

> A knight there was, and that a worthy man,
> That fro the tyme that he first began
> To ryden out, he loved chivalrye,
> Trouthe, honour, fredom and curteisye.
>
> . . . . . .

He nevere yet vileinye ne sayde
In al his lyf, un-to no maner wight.
He was a verray parfit gentil knight.

Then comes the knight's son, his squire, a fashionable young man, with his fair locks set in stiff curls, fastidious and delicate, yet 'wonderly delivere [nimble] and of great strength'. All his thoughts were of honour and glory and love; yet 'he was as fresh as is the month of May', and

Curteys he was, lowly and servisable,
And carf beforn his fader at the table.

Then follows the prioress, Madame Eglantyne, talking Anglo-French:

After the scole at Stratford atte Bowe.
For Frensh of Paris was to her unknowe.

She was very neat-mannered, and when she drank she left no mark of grease on the cup.

The next pilgrim was a hunting monk, from some rich abbey:

An outrider that lovede venerye;
A manly man, to ben an abbot able.
Full many a deyntee hors hadde he in stable.

He rode hard, and his bridle could be heard jangling in the wind as clear as the chapel bell:

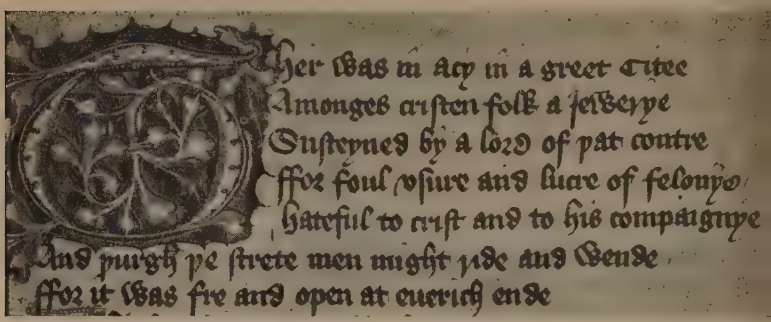
What sholde he studie, and make himselven wood,
Upon a book in cloistre alwey to poure,
Or swynken with his handes, and laboure,
As Austin[1] bit?

There was no evil in this 'fair prelat', but he was rather worldly. The next pilgrim, too, was a clergyman, and a bad one. He belonged to the Order of Friars of St. Francis, which had come to England in the year 1224, and had devoted itself to work among the poor and leprous, in the foul crowded quarters of the towns (see p. 88). By Chaucer's day the Friars

[1] St. Augustine.

had fallen from their high ideals. The Friar of the Prologue made himself popular enough with the well-to-do country people, for he sang a good song, gave presents of pins and knives to the women, and at his own cost had paid for the marriage of some of them. But he had no thought for the poor people and lepers :

> For unto swich a worthy man as he
> Accorded nat, as by his facultee,


Ther was in acy in a greet Citee
Amonges cristen folk a Jewerye
Susteyned by a lord of pat contre
For foul usure and lucre of felonye
Hateful to crist and to his compaignye
And purgh pe strete men might ride and wende
For it was fre and open at everich ende

HANDWRITING about A. D. 1400. Beginning of the *Prioress's Tale* in a famous Chaucer MS., Harley 7334.[1]

> To have with seke lazars aqueyntaunce.
> It is nat honest, it may nat avaunce
> For to delen with swich poraille,[2]
> But al with riche and sellers of vitaille.

The Friar at least was not a hypocrite, but the Pardoner, a priest whose trade was to sell relics, was a cheat and a rogue. His looks were against him, for he had smooth yellow hair and a glaring eye :

> His walet lay beforn him in his lappe,
> Bret-full of pardoun come from Rome al hoot.
>
> . . . . . .

[1] Ther was in acy in a greet Citee | Amonges cristen folk a Jewerye | Susteyned by a lord of þat contre | For foul usure and lucre of felonye | Hateful to crist and to his compaignye | And þurgh þe strete men might ride and wende | For it was fre and open at everich ende.

[2] Poor.

But of his craft, fro Berwick unto Ware,
Ne was there swich another pardoner.
For in his male[1] he hadde a pilwe-beer,[2]
Which that, he seyde, was our lady veyl:
He seyde, he hadde a gobet of the seyl
That sëynt Peter hadde, whan that he wente
Upon the see, til Jesu Crist him hente.[3]
He had a cross of latoun,[4] ful of stones,
And in a glas he hadde pigges bones.
But with these relikes whan that he fond
A poore person dwelling upon lond
Upon a day he gat him more moneye
Than that the person gat in monthes tweye.

The Church was a great feature of the life of the Middle Ages, and Chaucer gives full prominence to it. The two examples already given are not greatly to its credit. There are two others in the Prologue, however, who inspire nothing but respect. One is the Parson, the priest of a poor country parish, who devoted his whole life to his flock, took no thought of money, and sought for no preferment:

A bettre preest, I trowe that nowher non is.
He wayted after no pompe and reverence,
Ne maked him a spyced conscience,
But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
He taughte, but first he folwed it himselve.

The other example of the Church was a Clerk of Oxford, a member of the University, in holy orders, as were all learned men at that time. He rode a lean horse, and his coat was threadbare:

For him was levere[5] have at his beddes heed,
Twenty bokes, clad in black or reed,
Of Aristotle and his philosophye,
Than robes riche, or fithele,[6] or gay sautrye.[7]

He was studious and modest, and when he spoke was careful to speak to the point, and correctly:

[1] Portmanteau. [2] Pillow-case. [3] Seized. [4] Brass.
[5] Rather, i.e. he would rather. [6] Fiddle.
[7] Psaltery, small harp.

Of studie took he most cure and most hede.
Noght o word spak he more than was nede,
And that was seyd in forme and reverence,
And short and quik, and ful of hy sentence.
Sowninge [1] in moral vertu was his speche,
And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche.

The Prologue should be read in full. One by one the goodly procession of old English society passes before the reader: the Yeoman, 'in cote and hood of greene', with a sheaf of arrows under his belt, a sword at one side, and a 'gay daggere' at the other; the Merchant, distinguished by his Flemish beaver hat, who thought that above all things England should keep command of the sea; the Frankleyn, or small landed proprietor, a man of a sanguine complexion and unbounded hospitality:

It snewed in his hous of mete and drinke—

a man who had often represented his shire in Parliament. Then follow certain tradesmen, a Haberdasher, a Dyer, and so forth, members each of a trade-gild; then the Cook, good at boiling chickens and preparing marrow-bones, but best of all at making blancmange, which was composed of chicken, sugar, cream, and flour. We must notice, too, the Shipman. He was a skilful and hardy sailor, and knew all the coast from Gothland in the Baltic to Cape Finisterre in the Atlantic. Often had he met the rovers of the North Sea, and those he captured he threw overboard. Often, too, he had brought wine cargoes from Bordeaux, tapped the casks, and taken a good draught, while the merchant or supercargo who sailed with him was asleep:

Of nycë conscience took he no keep.

There was also a Physician, a man with a great knowledge of drugs, but believing greatly in astrology, and varying his treatment of a patient according to the star which was at the time in the ascendant. He had made a fortune during the

[1] Tending to.

Black Death, but was moderate in his expenditure, and also in eating and drinking: he ate little, but whatever he took was nourishing and digestible. He was very learned in all writers on medical subjects, and he went about dressed in deep red and bluish-grey cloth, lined with silk. The Wife of Bath was a famous maker of cloth, more skilled even than the tradesmen of Ypres and Ghent. This worthy woman, as Chaucer calls her, had had five husbands, and had been on pilgrimage over half the world, to Cologne, Spain, Rome, and Jerusalem. Finally, we may leave this picture of old English life with a glance at the 'Plowman'. He was brother to the 'poor Parson', and, like the parson, a hard worker, simple and upright.

> A trewe swinkere and a good was he,
> Living in pees and parfit charitee.

He paid all his dues regularly, and would give his labour sometimes for nothing, to help some 'poore wight'. He wore a smock, and rode upon a mare, in debt to no man, holding up his head, a true example of the strength of England.

The reign of Richard II. The tragic reign of Richard II was chosen by Shakespeare for the theme of the second play in his great series of historical dramas. Historians and romancers of every age have been attracted by the story of this brilliant young man, called to the throne while still a boy, exploited by covetous, tyrannical nobles, yet rising to a real grandeur when he threw off their control and ruled by himself; then, at the end, breaking forth into tyranny, to be deposed and die a friendless monarch's violent death. 'In my time,' says Froissart in the final chapter of his Chronicles, 'in my time I have seen two things: though they differ, yet they be true.' The first thing was the celebration of Richard's birth, at Bordeaux, for Froissart was in the city when this happened. The second thing which he witnessed was an old knight at Berkhamstead, who prophesied that Richard would be displaced by the House of Lancaster.

Froissart lived just long enough to see the prophecy come true, when King Richard, in the year 1400, deposed and dead, was carried 'fair and softly' in a chair, from the Tower of London to Cheapside, and laid there, with his head upon a black cushion and his face exposed, while 20,000 Londoners filed past; and 'some had on him pity and some none, but said he had long deserved death' (chap. ccxlv).

Richard's reign may be divided into three periods. The first is from his accession, in 1377, to 1388, while he was still a minor. The second is from 1389 to 1397, a good period, when Richard was ruling firmly and wisely, respecting the law and the constitution. The third period is a brief one, from 1397 to 1399, two years of autocratic rule, ending with the revolution which put his cousin Henry IV on the throne.

The minority of Richard. During the first period the government was carried on by a council of noblemen, but Richard, who showed great spirit at the Peasants' Revolt in 1381, shortly afterwards began to rely upon friends of his own—Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Sir Simon Burley, Michael de la Pole—and to take an active part in the administration. This policy of his, however, was defeated by a combination of great nobles, under Richard's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, who rose in arms, defeated Richard's friends in a fight at Radcot Bridge on the Thames above Oxford, and then had them condemned in the 'Merciless Parliament', 1388. The lords who carried out this resolution were known as the Lords Appellant, because they 'appealed' or impeached Richard's friends of treason in Parliament. The Lords Appellant, however, showed themselves to be neither energetic nor disinterested. They got Parliament to vote £20,000 to them for their trouble. The 'Merciless Parliament' of 1388 compares very unfavourably with the 'Good Parliament' of 1376, which in the last years of Edward III had established the use of impeachment as a regular means of procedure, in order to prevent financial corruption and to bring public peculators to justice.

Richard's period of sound government. Next year, May 1389, Richard showed the mettle he was made of by suddenly entering the council-room of the Lords Appellant, and asking what his age was. Twenty-three years, answered the Duke of Gloucester; to which Richard curtly replied that if this was so he was of age to take a part in the government himself. The resolution of the young monarch won its way, and for eight years Richard, with his gentle and cultivated Queen, Anne, Princess of Bohemia, ruled as a constitutional monarch, taking the advice of his council and legislating through Parliament. He visited Ireland in 1394, and by his presence and energetic measures did much to make the English power safe and agreeable to the Irish, who since the 'Statute of Kilkenny', in 1366, which had prohibited all intercourse between English and Irish, had been getting badly out of hand. In 1396 he courageously made a much-needed peace with France. His court was one of the most splendid in Europe. Literature was encouraged; the poet Gower was under the King's personal patronage. 'There was never before', says Froissart, 'any King of England that spent so much in his house as he did, by a hundred thousand florins every year; for I, Sir John Froissart, canon and treasurer of Chimay, knew it well, for I was in his court more than a quarter of a year together, and he made me good cheer.'

KING'S SEAL
for recognizances of debts at Oxford, temp. Rich. II. 1377–99.

Richard's despotism and fall. In 1397, however, Richard seems to have lost his sense of proportion. The high ideas he had always entertained of kingship were now put into practice in their most extreme form. Men born to be kings cannot help having a lofty idea of their power, but they must

exercise judgement in acting upon it. A favourite maxim of Richard was that 'law was contained in the mouth and breast of the king'. In 1398 he induced Parliament, meeting at Shrewsbury, to grant him for life the export tax on wool—the chief annual tax of the kingdom; further, it gave over its authority to make laws into the hands of a small committee

BODIAM CASTLE, north front, 1385, showing the strong gate-house and walls dropping sheer into a lake.

consisting of members of Parliament who were staunch friends of the King. Richard would thus be able to rule without Parliament, having all the money he required, and making his own laws. Immediately afterwards he banished, without trial, two of the chief men of the kingdom, his cousin Henry of Lancaster and the Duke of Norfolk. People were grumbling at the expense of his court, the nobles at his arbitrary acts, the Church at failure to suppress the Lollards, whom his late wife, Anne of Bohemia, is said to have favoured. In May 1399 Richard went for the second time to Ireland, and while he was away, Henry of Lancaster came from France, to

claim the estates of his father, John of Gaunt. John of Gaunt was the third son of Edward III, and was lord of the counties of Lancaster, Hereford, Derby, and of estates in practically every other county in England. He had died early in 1399, and Richard at once confiscated the estates. When Henry landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire to claim his property, the nobles of the north brought their men to his side. It became clear that there was little support left in the country for Richard; he could rely upon no one but his bodyguard of Cheshire archers, who fondly called him Dickon, and swore they would follow him to the death. But when Richard came back from Ireland and landed at Milford Haven in Pembrokeshire, he soon saw that his crown was lost. His mercurial spirit sank to the depths. Shakespeare has portrayed his despair (*Richard II*, Act III, sc. ii):

'For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground
And tell sad stories of the death of kings:
How some have been deposed; some slain in war;
Some haunted by the ghosts they have deposed;
Some poison'd by their wives; some sleeping kill'd;
All murder'd: for within the hollow crown
That rounds the mortal temples of a king
Keeps Death his court.'

Richard was kept in confinement till February 14, 1400, when he died in Pontefract Castle, having starved himself to death, as some said, or been starved by his gaoler.

CHAPTER XII

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR: PART II

The fifteenth century. In the fifteenth century, which now opens, English history shows a marked decline. Till the end of Richard II's reign there had been steady progress, in government, in learning and literature, in the Church, in commerce. In the fifteenth century, however, things are wholly different; the government is in the hands of a few noble families, who

fight with each other for the mastery; there is no great literature written, the high clergy become supple statesmen, commerce has to get on as best it can under an unstable and bankrupt government. In the fourteenth century certain unwholesome tendencies had shown themselves, a love of plunder and contempt for justice; but the following age was worse. 'Weak as is the fourteenth century,' says the great constitutional historian of England, 'the fifteenth century is weaker still; more futile, more bloody, more immoral.'[1] And the cause undoubtedly was a demoralization of the people, nobles and commons, caused by the long French war, which was fought for no high ideals and no just cause.

The government of Henry IV. Henry IV was recognized by Parliament as King in place of the autocratic Richard, who had been deposed. Henry, therefore, by contrast, had to reign constitutionally, taking the advice of his ministers and Parliament in everything. Hence the rule by Henry of Lancaster and his son and grandson is called the 'Lancastrian experiment in constitutional government'. The experiment was not a success, nor was it carried very far. Henry IV agreed that the names of his ministers should, on their first appointment, be submitted to Parliament. This practice was maintained until 1437, when Henry VI, on attaining his majority, began to appoint his ministers without reference to Parliament, and from this date the Lancastrian experiment of constitutional government must be considered at an end.

Internal troubles. The reign of Henry IV (1397–1413) was troubled by numerous risings and faction fights. The most serious was that of Owen Glendower, an Anglo-Welsh landed proprietor, who in 1400 was involved in a quarrel with his neighbour, Lord Grey of Ruthin. The King, on the whole, seems to have supported the side of Lord Grey, and gradually Owen became an open rebel, and raised the whole Principality of Wales against the King. It was in combating this rebellion that young Prince Henry, the Prince of Wales (who was born

[1] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, ii, p. 656.

in 1387), known later as Henry V, gained his early experience in campaigning. The Welshmen, aided by the Northumbrian family of Percy, who had also rebelled, were met by Henry IV and the Prince of Wales in battle near Shrewsbury, in 1403, and defeated. Yet the rebellion dragged on till the end of the reign. Owen called himself Prince of Wales, made an alliance with France and Scotland, was sung by all the Welsh bards as a national hero, and is said to have planned the establishment of two Welsh universities. By 1409, however, young Henry, Prince of Wales, had recovered most of his Principality. In 1408 the Percys had again joined battle with the Royalists in Yorkshire, at Bramham Moor, where the Earl of Northumberland was killed. Owen Glendower was never captured, but lived among the wilder Welsh hills till his death, in 1416, when Henry V pardoned his son and received him into the royal service. The elder Henry was never happy in the kingdom which he had acquired by force, and when he died on March 20, 1413, in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, he was probably not sorry to leave the burden of government, which amid ill health and many difficulties he had borne valiantly enough.

TRANSITION FROM CHAINMAIL TO PLATE ARMOUR, A.D. 1400.

Henry V. Henry V was twenty-six years old when he succeeded to the throne. In many respects he was a model king, serious, devoted to his duties, blameless in private life. His face, as it appears in the picture in Queen's College, at Oxford, is pale, delicate, sensitive, with a prominent nose, a high brow, and dignified expression.

He was probably the most popular of all English kings, for

he had all the qualities most admired—courage and perfect self-possession amid danger, prudence and foresight in council, and the touch of genius that marked him off from all other men and gave success to his enterprises.

Yet this serious king has the reputation of having been, before his accession, wild and dissipated, a roystering, young blade who wandered about the streets of London at night, and robbed his own tax-gatherers as a practical joke. The genius of Shakespeare has made the story of Prince Henry and Falstaff live for ever, for he has put all the jollity of the Elizabethan age into scenes such as that in the Boar's Head Tavern, Eastcheap (*1 Henry IV*, Act II, sc. iv). There is nothing in the chronicles of Henry IV's reign to support these stories of the Prince, though it is not impossible that a young prince who spent all the spring and summer in hard campaigning in Wales, should relax into undue liveliness in London in winter. Yet at least we know that on coming to the throne he showed no tendency to resort to any boon companions, but continued the wise dispositions for the government of the country which his father had made:

> Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
> But Harry Harry.[1]

The War with France. His reign is notable for the attempt (which nearly succeeded) to conquer the whole land of France and to add it to his crown. And this stupendous effort was made, and to a large extent actually accomplished, by a man of twenty-nine years of age, the head of a kingdom of which the total revenue was only about £100,000 a year, and of which the army on foot in any campaign was never more than 15,000 men.

The renewal of the Hundred Years' War in 1415 was due to Henry's sincere belief that he was the true heir to the crown of France (as descended from Queen Isabella, the

[1] Shakespeare, *2 Henry IV*, Act V, sc. ii.

wife of Edward II); and he intended, after winning this 'just inheritance', as he called it, to take the combined forces of England and France on crusade against the Infidel; for Henry was deeply religious and unswerving in his principles. He was animated not so much by ambition as by the determination to pursue what he had come, by some curious mental process, to consider his duty; just as he, though by nature merciful, conceived it his duty to hunt out the Lollards, to imprison them, and if they remained obstinate, even to burn them.

The Campaign of Agincourt. In August 1415 Henry, having collected an army of 15,000 men, of whom about two-thirds were archers, and having hired ships to transport them, sailed from Portsmouth to the mouth of the Seine. The political situation in France was highly favourable to his enterprise; for the French King, Charles VI, was subject to fits of madness, and two royal princes, the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, were continually quarrelling, and sometimes openly fighting, for the regency.

The Siege of Harfleur. Henry's object in landing at the mouth of the Seine was to begin a campaign for winning (or re-winning) the duchy of Normandy. The estuary was commanded by the walled town of Harfleur, about eight miles from where the modern town of Havre is situated. Although weakly garrisoned, Harfleur held out courageously, and when it at last capitulated on September 22, 1415, after a siege of five weeks, about half of Henry's army had wasted away among the marshes before the walls. The unexpected resistance of a petty town looked like ruining the great scheme of Henry V. How could he expect to go forward and conquer France with about 7,000 fighting men? Yet his resolution never wavered. There seems to have been no thought of returning to England. When his captains asked him what course he meant to pursue, he briefly replied, 'Straight to Calais'. On October 9 he began the march, and then ensued the most astonishing feat of the Middle Ages, when a few

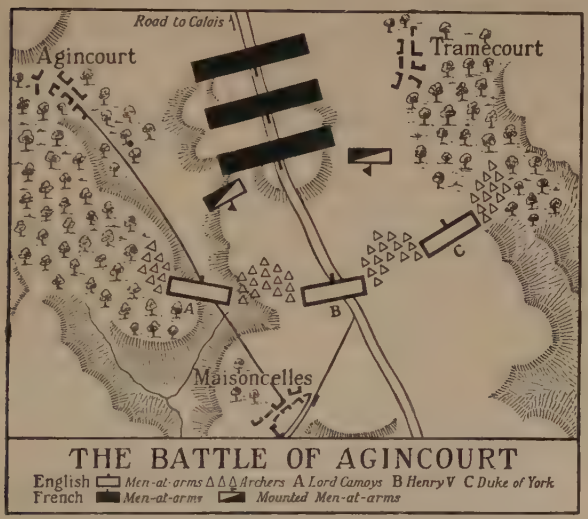
thousand Englishmen, led by a commander who had never been in the country and who had no map, journeyed through the enemy's kingdom for a distance of about 200 miles, and then overthrew a magnificently equipped French army of about 20,000 to 25,000 men.

Agincourt. The march was interrupted by the French army, which had been watching the English movements all the

way, and on October 25 barred the road to Calais at Agincourt. The English army was tired with marching for a night in the autumn rains through the mud of northern France; it was hungry too, for supplies had given out in the last few days, the inhabitants having, as far as possible, removed everything from the country-side. Yet Henry seems to have had no thought of accepting the terms—safe return to England on resignation of his claim to the crown of France—which the French Government offered him. He made his dispositions for battle with the greatest calmness, and the simple Englishmen seem to have trusted the young man implicitly,

though Shakespeare has described the soul of the King as feeling the heavy burden:

> Upon the king! let us our lives, our souls,
> Our debts, our careful wives,
> Our children, and our sins lay on the king!
> We must bear all. (*Henry V*, Act IV, sc. i.)



THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT

English ▭ Men-at-arms △△△ Archers A Lord Camoys B Henry V C Duke of York
French ▬ Men-at-arms ◪ Mounted Men-at-arms

The battle was fought on St. Crispin's Day, October 25, among ploughed fields between the orchards and gardens of the villages of Agincourt and Tramecourt.

The English had passed the night in and around the village of Maisoncelles, drenched with rain, listening to the sounds of confidence and merriment that came from the French lines, which could be distinguished by the watch-fires twinkling among the fields. In the morning King Henry arranged his men in three bodies or battles, called, from the order in which they marched, the vaward, the main battle, and the rearward. But though the three 'battles' marched in this order, they fought (and this became the regular practice of the English)

in one line, with archers in large numbers at the extremity of each 'battle'.

The French, filling up the whole space (1,000–2,000 yards broad) between Agincourt and Tramecourt, were also arranged in three battles, but one battle was behind another, and each was mainly composed of heavily armoured knights and men-at-arms, armed with long lances, but dismounted. The first movement was made by the English, but almost at once the French advanced to meet them. Seeing this, King Henry halted his forces, and ordered the archers to fix slantwise in the ground the stakes (6 feet long) which they had cut by his orders, so that when the French charged they would dash themselves on the points of the stakes.

The defeat of the French. The French first tried a charge of cavalry, which was beaten off by the English bowmen. Then the first French battle advanced, and was likewise received with showers of well-directed arrows, which, in spite of the men-at-arms' armour, made havoc in their closely crowded ranks. Owing to their weight, the French could only advance very slowly over the muddy ground, and they were within range of the English long-bows for a distance of well over a hundred yards. When they did reach the English line, they were met, from behind the pointed stakes, by the archers, who fell upon them with hatchets, and by the English men-at-arms. The French were still too crowded to use their numbers, or even to wield their arms freely. The slaughter was fearful; in the *mêlée* the dead were piled on the living, and the Englishmen, still fiercely fighting, climbed upon the ghastly heaps to get at the enemy who were still standing. The first two 'battles' of the French came up in succession and were broken. The third fled. The English retained possession of the field, with about 6,000 dead Frenchmen upon it, and numerous captives. During the battle, a number of prisoners (some hundreds it is said) had been slaughtered by order of Henry V at a moment when a small attack on the rear of the English looked like succeeding.

Effects of Agincourt. The result of the battle was to cripple the French military power, for most of the dead, and all the captives (who were kept for ransom), belonged to the great military class of gentry. The English losses were only about one hundred. Agincourt became, deservedly, the most famous of English battles. It was won against tremendous odds, largely through the personal qualities of the brilliant leader of the English and the spirit with which he inspired his men. A contemporary ballad celebrates the event:

Deo Gratias Anglia redde pro Victoria!

Oure kynge went forth to Normandy,
With grace & myȝt of chivalry;
The God for hym wrouȝt marvelously,
Wherefore Englonde may calle & cry
Deo gratias:
Deo gratias Anglia redde pro Victoria.

He sette a sege, the sothe for to say,
To Harflue toune with ryal aray;
That toune he wan, & made a fray,
That Fraunce shall rywe tyl domes day.
Deo gratias, etc.

Then owre kynge, with alle his oste,
Thorowe Fraunce for all the Frenshe boste;
He spared not for drede of leste, ne most,
Tyl he come to Agincourt coste.
Deo gratias, etc.

Than, for sothe, that knyȝt comely
In Agincourt feld he fauȝt manly,
Thorow grace of God most myȝty
He had bothe the felde, & the victory:
Deo gratias, etc.

Ther dukys, and erlys, lorde & barone,
Were take, & slayne, & that wel sone,
And soone were ledde in to Lundone
With joye & merthe, & grete renone.
Deo gratias, etc.

Now gracious God he save owre kynge,
His peple, & all his wel wyllynge
Gef him gode lyfe, & gode endynge,
That we with merth mowe savely synge
Deo gratias:
Deo gratias Anglia redde pro Victoria.

After the battle the army marched to Calais and then shipped to Dover. From Dover to London the march was a triumphal procession all the way. It was the most enthusiastic reception ever yet given to an English King.

The years following Agincourt. The battle of Agincourt crippled France, but it did not add a single foot of French territory to the English possessions. Henry had to spend the rest of his reign in exploiting the opportunities which the defeat of the French had opened up for him. From 1417 to 1420 he was continuously fighting in France, and again for twelve months in 1421–22. When he died he had conquered most of the French kingdom to the north of the Loire, without having had to fight another pitched battle since Agincourt.

Not merely was the French military power laid low by Agincourt, but after the disaster the quarrels of the Burgundian and Orleanist factions grew worse than ever. The Duke of Orleans, it is true, was a prisoner in England (having been captured at Agincourt), but his father-in-law, Bernard VII, Count of Armagnac (South-West France), remained a most energetic leader of the Orleanist, or, as it came to be called, the 'Armagnac' party; he became a pillar of the national cause against the English. John, Duke of Burgundy, on the other hand, after the great success of Henry V in 1415, inclined more and more to the English side, out of hatred of the Armagnacs.

The Conquest of Normandy. In September 1417 Henry V landed his army on the Norman coast, at the little port of Le Touquet, and began systematically to reduce the old duchy of his forefathers. The French made no attempt to meet him in the open field. Henry's plan was to occupy each town of Normandy in a certain order, so that in a few months'

time there was a regular series of them under English garrisons from the sea to the southern frontier of the duchy. Gradually the King worked round with his army and approached the capital, Rouen, from the south. After a long and terrible siege, July 1418 to January 1419, the city was captured. With the fall of Rouen, which at that period is said to have had 100,000 inhabitants, a larger population than that of London, the whole duchy came into the hands of the English. Henry stepped at once into the position of Duke of Normandy. The ancient laws and customs were maintained; the inhabitants were left undisturbed in their lives and property, and any plundering or exactions by the English soldiery were severely punished.

The Treaty of Troyes. The loss of Normandy induced the jarring factions of France, the Burgundians and Armagnacs, to try and patch up an agreement. The Duke of Burgundy met the Dauphin, Charles VI's son, on the bridge of Montereau, at the junction of the Seine and the Yonne. What followed is a little obscure. Some angry words were exchanged, and the Duke, who is said to have made a movement as if to draw his sword, was at once cut down by the Dauphin's friend and counsellor, the Breton, Tanneguy du Chastel (September 1419). The murder at Montereau ruined any chance of reconciliation between Burgundians and Armagnacs, and caused open hostilities between them for the next sixteen years.

The crowning success of the English, when Henry V became all but King of France, followed almost immediately. Advancing into Champagne, he met the enraged son of the murdered Duke John of Burgundy. The Burgundian party, who now had control of the mad King Charles VI, induced him on May 21, 1420, to sign the famous Treaty of Troyes in the cathedral town of that name. The Dauphin was disinherited; Henry V was declared 'heir of France', and was married to the Princess Katharine, Charles VI's daughter. While the French King was alive, Henry was to

administer the country in his name. When Charles died, Henry was himself to become king.

The death of Henry V. After this wonderful success Henry entered Paris, where he held the Estates-General (the legislative assembly) of France, and made useful ordinances for the good government of the distracted kingdom. He spent Christmas in Paris, and then returned with Queen Katharine to England, leaving his brother, the Duke of Clarence, as Lieutenant of Normandy in his stead. While Henry was in England, Clarence, with a few thousand men, was caught by some of the Dauphin's men and Scots knights who had come over to help them. In a cleverly fought action they defeated the English, and left Clarence dead on the field, near the Bridge of Beaugé, in Anjou (March 22, 1421). It was the first time that the French had met the English in open battle since Agincourt. The victory put new life into the Dauphinist party, who still held all the country south of the Loire and even a few districts to the north of the river. Henry V came back with a fine army, and was consolidating his power north of the Loire, with all his usual skill and resoluteness, when death overtook him at Bois de Vincennes on August 31, 1422, at the age of thirty-five. Although well-proportioned and athletic, he had never been constitutionally strong. On campaign he shared the privations of his soldiers, often sleeping on the bare ground, and exposing himself to the fever and cold, as well as to the weapons of the enemy. Bad food, fatigue, exposure, prolonged over many months, especially in the siege of Meaux (July 1421 to March 1422), had brought on dysentery and finally an internal ulcer. Before his death he quietly made all arrangements for the peaceful succession of the son who had been born to him in England and whom he was never to see. Then declaring solemnly to his chaplain that he had taken up the sword for a righteous cause, he composed himself for death. When the last agony came on he uttered, 'Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend this soul,' and died.

The division of France. Henry V never became King of France. Six weeks after his death, Charles VI died too, and young Henry VI, who was less than a year old, succeeded to his father's rights under the Treaty of Troyes. The Dauphin (Charles VII) had his court and capital at Bourges,

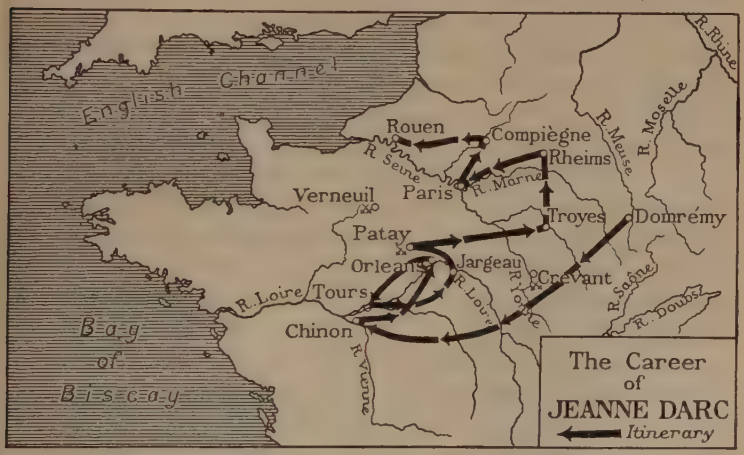
in the country south of the Loire. For a time the English cause prospered, under the wise leadership of the young king's uncle, John, Duke of Bedford, the best of Henry V's brothers. The Duke combined the qualities of a soldier, general, statesman. It was his hard task, as Regent of France for Henry VI, to maintain the war (with insufficient supplies of men and money), to administer the country, to make peace between the discordant factions at home, especially between

his untameable brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and his uncle, the Cardinal, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester.

France during the early years of Henry VI. For a time things went well with the English cause. Bedford had first of all to consolidate the English dominion north of the Loire. In 1423 he defeated the Dauphinists (as those who adhered to Charles VII were now called), with their Scots allies, at Crevant on the Yonne. One year later, August 1424, he gained another battle at Verneuil against another force of Dauphinists and Scots, who had actually invaded Normandy. The battle caused great joy in England, and was hailed as another Agincourt. It showed, however, that the French were not afraid to meet the English in the open field. The war dragged on, because the English claimed the sovereignty of all France, and the Dauphin, who was acknowledged king over about half the country, would not admit the claim. Mediaeval states could carry on a war like this almost interminably, but there was no finality to be attained, as the armies which met each other as the war went on, numbered only about 6,000 or 7,000 men on each side. The rest of the soldiers were spread about as garrisons, or, under the name of 'free companies', roamed over the country and exacted plunder from the unhappy inhabitants. The English at home began to lose all interest in the war, except that they grumbled at the extra taxation and complained of the loss of life.

The Siege of Orleans. The dying Henry V had commended the war and the cause of his son to his brother, the Duke of Bedford, who would never abandon the trust. Gradually his energy and determination won its way. The English power was made fairly solid down to the Loire. The next step was to push across the river. For this it was necessary to capture the important city of Orleans, the 'bridge-head' on the north bank of the Loire. In October 1428 an army, numbering about 5,000 men, was led against the city by Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury. His forces were too small to invest Orleans completely, but Salisbury set to work and built

a series of rough fortresses of wood and stone—'bastides' they were called—round it, and so tried to close all approaches to the city. Yet convoys from the country south of the Loire were able to enter Orleans from time to time throughout the siege. The garrison, which was probably about the same size as the English army, held out stoutly enough, but the Dauphin, who, though capable, was a melancholy man, with no taste for warfare, showed an entire want of energy and



seemed almost indifferent. The struggle revealed a complete lack of ideals in both camps, and seemed to breed nothing but corruption and cruelty.

Jeanne Darc. It was on this sordid scene that Jeanne Darc suddenly appeared, with all the freshness of youth, all the enthusiasm of a noble unselfish character. At once the struggle was lifted to a different plane, and it became certain that, the rival forces being otherwise evenly balanced, the French, showing greater enthusiasm and more lofty purpose, would finally triumph.

Jeanne Darc, as she is properly called, was born about the year 1412 at Domremy in Lorraine. Her father was a peasant

who owned his own land. Jeanne helped with the farm, and spent long hours with the cattle on the hill-side. From there she may have seen the smoke of burning villages, when the English or Burgundian troops passed by. The imaginative and pious girl heard 'voices' speaking to her, bidding her free France from the English yoke. In 1429, being then about seventeen years old, she went to Vaucouleurs, the nearest town which had a small Dauphinist garrison. The governor, though a common-place soldier of the hard type of that age, was won over by the simplicity and earnestness of her character, so far as to send her to Chinon, where Charles VII held his court. She was admitted to the presence of the doubting and melancholy king, and again stated her extraordinary mission. She (a peasant girl who could neither read nor write) had come as the messenger of God to announce the speedy triumph of the King's cause. The Middle Ages were dying amid bloodshed and faithlessness, but there was still something of the old idealism left, something of the romantic spirit which had led men to die on the sands of Syria for a name and an idea. The peasant girl was sent with the army that was being collected to try and relieve Orleans.

The relief of Orleans. Jeanne was no general, but there were plenty of experienced captains in her army. What the soldiery of the time lacked was enthusiasm, and that was just what she gave. To her, 'France' was something ideal, beautiful, in comparison with which a man must hold his life as nothing. Patriotism, as distinct from loyalty to a paymaster, or allegiance to a feudal lord, was to become the watchword of the French. With an army animated by her romantic presence, and inspired by faith in her divine mission, Jeanne approached Orleans in April 1429. On the 29th she passed between the widely separated bastides of the English, and entered Orleans unopposed. The end of the siege was in sight. It was not merely that the forces of defence had been augmented, but a light, as it were from above, had broken upon them. Some hard fighting had still to be done, but the result

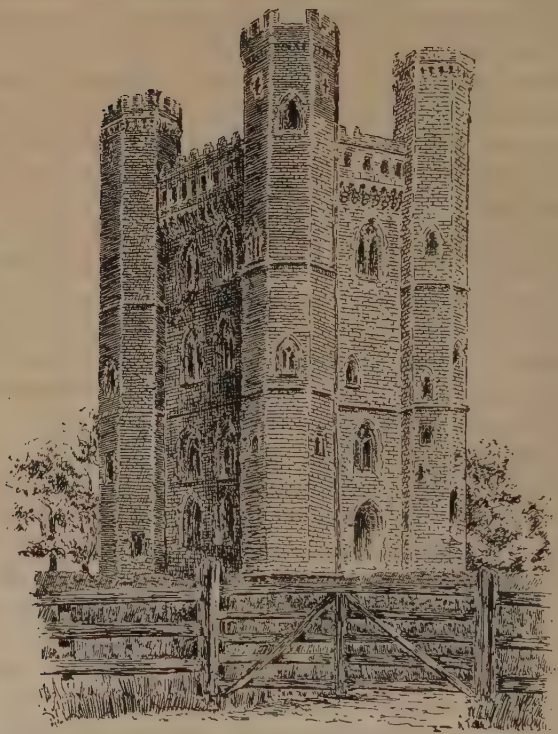
was almost a foregone conclusion. On May 3, 1429, the English were compelled to burn their works, and raise the siege. Their great effort had failed. The rest of the Hundred Years' War is the story of a steady decline in their power. They felt that they had failed and, obstinately as they fought, the heart had gone out of them.

The death of Jeanne. Jeanne may have been no general, but she had, at any rate, the virtue of swift decisiveness. She persuaded her captains to follow up the relief of Orleans at once. On June 12 she captured Jargeau; on the 19th she fell upon the English leader, Talbot, near Patay, captured him, and destroyed nearly half his army. On July 17 she led Charles VII to Reims for his coronation, according to her promise. Then once again, still unresting, she took to the field, almost unsupported by the Government. She was captured by a Burgundian force in May 1430. Charles VII made no offer to ransom her, and accordingly the Burgundians handed her over to the English. She was tried by a court of French ecclesiastics at Rouen, and burnt as a heretic in the market-place of the city on May 29, 1431. So died the most inspiring figure of the Hundred Years' War, at the early age of eighteen; but her work was done. In a sense she is the creator of modern France, which from her time became passionately conscious of itself as one people, no longer a loose collection of feudal lordships.

The loss of the Burgundian alliance. There were twenty-two years of desultory struggle in France before the English provinces were all lost. In 1430 the English Government even had young Henry VI crowned King of France, in Paris. But political demonstrations such as this are of little use by themselves against the logic of facts. Duke Philip of Burgundy was coming to see the folly of the apparently endless war, and to be displeased with his English alliance. It was years since his father had been killed, and France had paid dearly for the crime. So in the summer of 1435 Philip made his peace with Charles VII,

at the Congress of Arras; and the English went on fighting by themselves.

The death of Bedford. With the loss of the Burgundian



MILITARY ARCHITECTURE. Tattershall Castle, 1433–1443. Transitional. A dwelling-house in the form of a keep or four-storied tower.

alliance, there occurred another disaster, one which, however, in the nature of things, could not be avoided. Bedford, at the age of 46, was at the end of the allotted span of most men's lives in the Middle Ages; and his life had been harder than that of most. He died on September 15 (1435), at the house

of *Joyeux Repos*, in Rouen. He was the last great man that England produced in the Middle Ages, and he spent his life in a hopeless and useless cause. His brother, Henry V, had laid upon him the burden of the French war, and he carried

HURSTMONCEAUX CASTLE, about 1446. Transitional. A brick dwelling-house with the outward form of a Castle.

the burden to the end. The Chronicle of Normandy says he was 'noble in lineage and in virtue: wise, generous, feared, and loved'.

The loss of the French provinces. For eighteen years more the unsatisfactory war dragged on. In 1436 the French army entered Paris, and practically only Normandy and Guienne, with shrinking frontiers, were left to the English. In 1444 the courageous English minister, William de la Pole, Duke of

Suffolk, who had himself seen much hard service in France, arranged a truce with Charles VII, and the marriage of Charles's cousin, Margaret of Anjou, to Henry VI. The truce was unpopular in England, and cost Suffolk his head, but it was what the country required. The English Government, which in Henry V's time had been so law-abiding and orderly, was now misgoverning its French provinces. There was no money to pay the garrisons, which had accordingly taken to plunder. Local risings occurred in different places, on the part of the desperate and starving peasantry. In 1449 an unpaid English company, under a Spanish captain, François de Surienne, who was called L'Aragonois, crossed the Breton frontier and sacked the flourishing little town of Fougères. The Duke of Brittany appealed for help to Charles VII, who only wanted a fair reason for war. He had now perfected his military system, by paying the troops regularly and forming companies of artillery. The Norman people welcomed the coming of a French army. The English governor, Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, had no proper resources to withstand the invasion. An army of relief, sent from England under Sir Thomas Kyriel, was defeated at Formigny (April 15, 1450). In June, Caen, where William the Conqueror was buried, fell to the French, and by the end of August Cherbourg, the last English stronghold in Normandy, was captured. After this success, Charles VII transferred his army to Guienne, the duchy of the south-west. The English had allowed more freedom in Guienne than in Normandy, and were not disliked by the people. Yet within six months Charles had conquered Guienne too (June 1451). A year later the old lion, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, a veteran of Orleans, Patay, and innumerable other fights, led the last English force (it only numbered about 3,000) into Guienne. At Castillon, on the river Dordogne, the French artillery tore through the ranks of the English; Talbot himself was killed and his force dispersed (July 17, 1453). So ended the train of events which Henry V had so brilliantly begun at Agincourt. Calais re-

mained in English hands for another hundred and five years; and the kings of England styled themselves King of France till 1800. This was all that there was to show for whole generations of warfare, and for a policy which brought upon England the miserable bloodstained period of the Wars of the Roses.

TATTERSHALL CASTLE, a fireplace.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WARS OF THE ROSES

The Wars of the Roses. This name has been given to the struggle between two parties of the English nobility, a struggle which went on from 1455 to 1471. The administration of the country broke down, and the great nobles, with their retainers behind them, met each other in pitched battles, as in Stephen's reign. The wars were a natural result of the Hundred Years' War in France. A lawless spirit had been engendered in the military forces, who, left unpaid by the bankrupt

Lancastrian Government, had learned to flout the law and to prey upon the French peasantry.

Livery and maintenance. The soldiers who returned from the French wars would have found no opening for warfare at home if the great nobles had not offered them service. Unfortunately, as early as the reign of Richard II, wealthy landed nobles had begun to enlist able-bodied men in their service, by putting them into a livery, as if they were their household servants. Often it was not a livery that was given, but merely a badge, some part of a nobleman's coat-of-arms sewn on to the tunic of the man, who thereby avowed himself the retainer of the lord. All over the country there might be men who wore the badge of a great lord (for instance, that of the Earl of Warwick in the reign of Henry VI), and who, when called upon, would sharpen their swords and flock to his standard. This 'badging' became known as the practice of *livery*. In the reign of Henry IV it had already given the opportunity for contests between lords in various counties. The poet Hoccleve, who was a clerk in the Privy Seal Office, appeals to the king as follows:

> Now in good feithe I pray God it amende,
> Lawe is nye flemed[1] out of this contree,
> For fewe ben that drede it to offende,
> Correccioun & alle this is longe on the.[2]
> Why suffrest thou so many assemblé
> Of armed folke welnye in every shire?
> Partie is made to venge her cruelle ire.

Maintenance was a less open, but even more insidious, evil than livery. It meant the practice according to which the great men of a district 'maintained' or supported the law-suits of the lesser men. Thus, in the fifteenth century, it was almost impossible to obtain justice in the local county courts, for the jury knew that some neighbouring magnate had made up his mind, and that a decision against the magnate's wishes would result in grave personal risk to themselves. There are

[1] Flemed = banished. [2] Longe on the = belongs to thee.

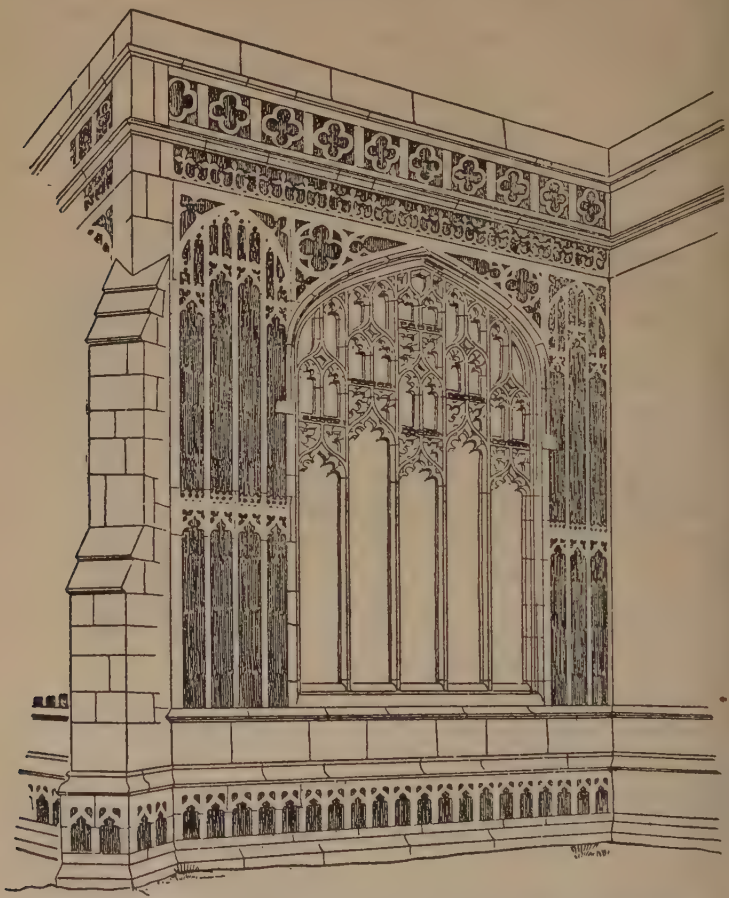
numerous instances of this illegal maintenance of law-suits to be found in the *Paston Letters*, written chiefly by members of the Paston family of Norfolk to each other between the years 1450 and 1470. In the county of Norfolk there was a powerful knight, Sir Thomas Tuddenham, who had often broken the peace. In 1451 he was summoned to appear at the Norfolk Assizes. 'And the said Tuddenham, Heydon, & others come down thither, as I understand, with 400 horse & more; & considering how their well-willers were assembled at their instance, it had been right jeopardous and fearful for any of the plaintiffs to have been present.'[1] He was 'maintaining' himself and his 'man', John Heydon. The case was not taken in the court. Another instance in the *Paston Letters* shows how the Royal Government itself could lend its influence to defeat justice. John Paston had a lawsuit with Lord Moleyns concerning the manor of Gresham, in Norfolk. The hearing of the case was often postponed in the county court. At last, in 1451, a day was fixed for it; but before John Paston entered the court, the sheriff took him aside and showed him a Royal Letter. This missive, which had been issued by the Chancery in Westminster, instructed the sheriff to get together a jury which would 'acquit Lord Moleyns'. John Paston, thoroughly disgusted, said such writs could be obtained from Chancery any day 'for six and eightpence'.

FULL PLATE ARMOUR.
'Gothic' suit, about 1445.

Parliament. The disorders of the country appeared at elections, and affected the composition of Parliament. The

[1] *Paston Letters*, No. 192.

members for the counties were always elected in the county courts. A man might be duly elected, but the sheriff, who



ST. MICHAEL COSLANY, NORWICH, about 1450. Showing Perpendicular tracery and work in flint.

presided at the court, might substitute the name of some one else, whom he preferred, in making his return to the Chancery. If this were done, the man whose name appeared on the

return would become the representative of the shire in Parliament. To prevent this fraud, a law was passed in 1406, compelling all who took part in the elections to append their seals to the writ of return, as a proof that the sheriff had not substituted the wrong name. But the number of seals appended during the next fifty years was very small, seldom more than thirty, sometimes as few as ten. Clearly the number of men who came to the county court was very small, and that number could be influenced or coerced by some great lords.

The Forty-shilling Franchise. In 1430 a law was passed to prevent any man from voting at the county elections who was not a freeholder possessing land of the annual value of forty shillings. Hitherto all freeholders, whatever the value of their land, had been voters, and in addition the 'four best men and the reeve' of each township could attend the county court and take part in the voting. The 'four best men and the reeve' were chosen out of the villeins of the manors. The Act of 1430, therefore, revised the qualification of voters, by excluding all villeins, and also those freeholders whose property was less than the (at that time) considerable sum of forty shillings a year. Accordingly, after 1430 the House of Commons came to represent only a small proportion of the people. The House of Lords was on an even narrower basis. Through the extinction of certain families, and through intermarriages, the baronies had come into possession of about fifty or sixty families, so that (apart from the bishops and abbots) the usual number in the House of Lords under Henry VI was forty-nine or fifty. As many of these barons were bitter enemies of each other, and had hundreds of ex-soldiers in their liveries, they first wrangled in Parliament, and soon took to fighting out their grievances in the open field.

The bankruptcy of the Lancastrian Government. A government that cannot pay its debts is not likely to last long. It is at the mercy of its creditors. Moreover, it must condone abuses, because its officials are not properly paid. It becomes

a bankrupt and thereby loses all respect. Such was the condition of the Lancastrian Government, in consequence of the protracted French wars. The ordinary revenue of the Government of Henry VI was about £70,000, obtained chiefly from customs duties, and from direct taxes voted from time to time by Parliament, levies nominally of one-tenth or one-fifteenth of every man's income. The country could easily have paid more than a hundred thousand pounds per annum, but the Government was too discredited to ask for more, or to collect extra money if the Parliament had voted it. Out of this £70,000 about £13,000 went to maintain the King's household, all his numerous palaces, castles, and manor-houses, and the army of officials connected with them. The garrisons of Calais and Berwick cost another £25,000. The French war, parsimoniously though it was conducted, exhausted all the spare funds of the Government, and left a deficit at the end of each year. In 1433 (a particularly bad year) the Treasurer, Lord Cromwell, in his budget for the next year, had shown a revenue of £38,000 and expenditure of £50,000 ; nor did things improve during the rest of the French war.

Henry VI. The King who had to rule over this distracted realm was not fitted for the task. He was a gentle but rather colourless man, completely devoted to the services of the Church, but without any striking qualities. He was an example of meekness to his subjects, would never sit down in church but always stood reverently, kept all the fasts, and was never known to swear : when roused he would say, 'Forsooth ! forsooth ! '—a gentle and salutary example in an age when men used all manner of strange oaths freely, ' By Christ's blood,' ' By God's death,' and so forth. He dressed soberly in dark-grey cloth, with a long gown and hood like a townsman, and comfortable broad boots or shoes like a countryman. This, too, was in marked contrast to the fashions of the period, which were very affected ; well-dressed men wore short tunics and tightly fitting hose that showed the shape of the whole leg, and pointed shoes with such long

tips that they had to be tied up with a thong to prevent people from being tripped.

Henry VI's Colleges. Henry tried to do his duty, and attended the meetings of the Privy Council regularly. He was a cultivated man too, and read much both in the Scriptures and in the historical chronicles of the Middle Ages. In 1441 he founded two of the greatest places of education in England, Eton College, near Windsor, and King's College, Cambridge, after the model of William of Wykeham's foundations of Winchester and New College, Oxford. The colleges of Henry VI rapidly prospered. Eton, with its majestic court and noble chapel, its timbered grounds, and gently flowing river, has associations which appeal even to those who have not been nurtured within its walls.

A PARISH PRIEST OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

William Goode, Rector of Dogmersfield; once a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. Died 1498. (From a Brass in Odiham Church.)

The Duke of York. Henry VI had married Margaret of Anjou in 1445, but no heir was born to him for the first eight years of his married life, and people began to wonder what would happen when he died. The want of good administration was ruining the country. In 1450 the men of Kent rose under an Irishman called Jack Cade, and marched upon London. The royal forces were entrapped in a wood near Sevenoaks and defeated. Henry retired to Kenilworth. Cade and his men came to London, and although ultimately repelled by the Captain of the Tower, Lord Scales, and his

hard-fighting lieutenant, Matthew Gough, they inflicted considerable damage on the city, and showed the dangers to which life and property were exposed through the weakness of the Government. The rebels had risen as a protest against this weakness. They had demanded a firmer administration of justice, lower taxes, and the employment of the strongest man in the country, the Duke of York.

The Duke of York. The Duke of York was the cousin of Henry VI, and his heir to the throne if the King died childless. He had been the King's deputy in France after Bedford's death, and in spite of insufficient forces, had maintained the English position creditably. In 1445 he had been removed from his post, and sent, instead, as 'Deputy' or Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland. He was then thirty-five years old. The King, meanwhile, had been induced by Queen Margaret to lean for advice on Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, another cousin, but not in the line of succession for the throne. Somerset was a grand nobleman, brave, but without administrative ability. Under him Normandy was lost in 1450, and yet, on returning to England, he became the chief man in the King's Privy Council. From the demand which arose in the country that York, not Somerset, should be given the chief voice in the Government, the Wars of the Roses began.

The demand for the Duke of York. There was, undoubtedly, a feeling throughout the country that the Duke of York was one of the few strong men left. After the loss of Normandy in 1450, some unknown poet lamented the lack of great men to bring peace and order to the country:

The Root[1] is dead, the Swan[2] is gone,
The fiery Cresset[3] hath lost his light.
Therefore England may make great moan
Were not the help of God Almight.
The Castle[4] is won, where care begun,
The Porte-Cullis[5] is laid a-down;

[1] John, Duke of Bedford. [2] Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.
[3] John Holland, Duke of Exeter. [4] Rouen.
[5] Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.

Yclosed we have our Velvet Hat [1]
That covered us from many storms brown.
. . . . . .
The Boar [2] is far into the West
That should us help with shield and spear.
The Falcon [3] fleeth and hath no rest
Till he wit where to big his nest.

The Falcon, a name like most of the others in the poem, taken from a coat-of-arms, was the Duke of York, at that time Deputy of Ireland. In the same year (1450) York came back from Ireland, but was not admitted to the counsels of the King. Instead, Somerset, whose tenure of the chief command in France had been so disastrous, was made Constable of the kingdom and the chief man in the Government. York spent most of his time on his estates in the Welsh March, round Ludlow, where he was a great landowner.

The King's illness and the birth of Prince Edward. On August 10, 1453, the King, who was staying at the palace of Clarendon in Wiltshire, lost his memory, and fell into a state of childishness. The madness inherited from his maternal grandfather, Charles VI of France, was working its effect upon a weak body and mind. On October 13, Queen Margaret gave birth to a son. All chance of the Duke of York peacefully succeeding to the throne on Henry's death was thus taken away; but for the time being he showed no desire to seize the crown by force. As the King could not give any directions whatever, the House of Lords appointed York Protector of the Realm, and all went well for about fifteen months. At the end of that time the King recovered his wits (Christmas 1454). His son was fourteen months old, yet the King had to ask the boy's name; and when the Queen said 'Edward', Henry lifted up his hands and thanked God. 'And he said', so we find in the *Paston Letters*, 'he never knew till that time nor wist not what was said to him, nor wist not where he had been, while he hath been sick till now.'

[1] Cardinal Henry Beaufort.
[2] Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire.
[3] The Duke of York.

The outbreak of war. As soon as King Henry came to his senses, he dismissed the Duke of York from the Government, and received back the Duke of Somerset. The Queen, who had complete influence over the King, suspected York of designing to exclude her son from the succession to the throne, and would have nothing to do with him. York seems to have felt that not merely his position in the country, but even his life and property were in danger; and so, without waiting for the King to take action, he gathered his supporters together in Yorkshire and advanced upon London (May 1455). Thus began the Wars of the Roses.

The character of the wars. The Wars of the Roses were civil conflicts, in which the mass of the people took no part. On one side was the King and forty or fifty noble and knightly families; on the other York, also with forty or fifty noble and knightly families. The townspeople, except on one occasion, took no part in the struggle; nor did the country people. The armies consisted of a few hundred nobles and knights, that is to say, well-to-do country gentlemen, with the men who wore their 'livery' and agreed to follow them for wages. In most of the battles the army on each side numbered about 4,000 or 5,000 men. The losses in a battle varied from about 300 to 2,500 men, the last being an exceptionally large number. The King's party were known as 'Lancastrians', the Duke's as 'Yorkists'. The name Wars of the Roses was not used till the chroniclers who lived under the Tudors began writing. Actually during the wars the white rose of York is heard of, but there is no mention of the red rose of Lancaster.

Ideals in the Wars of the Roses. Historians have always severely condemned these wars, which were fought for no great principle, but merely to secure the position and honours of one set of great families against another. Yet the period, properly understood, is not wholly repulsive. Those who fought suffered, as was right, for it was their quarrel, not the nation's. The people, as a whole, stood aside, and owing to the small numbers engaged in the wars, the loss of men and of wealth

was very little felt. Not a single town was plundered. The two parties met on the field and fought. The side which was defeated was scattered; some were killed in battle, some were executed, the rest went into hiding or fled overseas. Till the

defeated could gather their forces again for another effort, the country had peace. The wars were thus really a series of detached battles, with months of quiescence in between. The party which won the last battle administered the country. The courts sat, and taxes were collected. The administration suffered from disorganization, justice was often perverted, and in every county there was a certain amount of brigandage. Yet in the towns trade went on, and in the country districts

the ground was tilled and the crops were gathered in. Gradually the noble families lost their chief members, and the people, without taking much active part in the struggle, came more and more to support the man who seemed likely to end the struggle and give peace. This was Edward, eldest son of the Duke of York. Accordingly, the townsmen, notably the Londoners, took to lending him money, and this help, coupled with his own vigour and the following of men whom he commanded, gave him the final victory.

Bloodshed. The worst feature of the Wars of the Roses was the heartlessness which showed itself among the nobles on each side. At first they fought without undue bitterness; but as the wars continued the victors formed the practice of executing their most important captives in cold blood. The great men undoubtedly became callous, and set precedents for the frequent and cold-blooded executions carried out by the Yorkist and Tudor kings. It must be remembered, however, to the credit of one of the chief Yorkist leaders, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, that at the battle of Northampton (1460) he issued an order to spare the common people, and slay only the lords, knights, and squires (the men who were responsible for the quarrel). There are instances of great fidelity too, and one Lancastrian knight, Sir Ralph Percy, dying at the battle of Hedgeley Moor (1464), solaced himself with the reflection that he died in the service he had originally chosen—'I have saved the bird in my bosom', he said.

The defeat of the Lancastrian party. The military aim of each party was to get or keep possession of London; therefore most of the battles were fought along one or other of the great roads leading to the capital. The first battle, at St. Albans (1455), took place on the Great North Road, which runs from York to London. The Lancastrian forces were dispersed, Somerset killed, the King taken prisoner. Three years of comparative quiet followed, before the Queen, a most determined woman, had gathered support enough to assert the independence of the Crown again. This time she was successful after

some fighting in the west of England. Most of the Yorkist nobles had to fly: the Duke of York to Ireland, where he was perfectly safe upon his estates, and the Earl of Warwick to Calais. Warwick, among other offices, had received from the Crown the post of Captain of Calais, and so now the garrison received him as into a little kingdom of his own, where he was quite safe (1459). Next year he collected sufficient men and ships at Calais to make a landing on the English coast, in Kent; he was received with considerable cordiality by the citizens of London (1460); but he had to meet the Lancastrian forces on the Great North Road again, at Northampton, where he issued the order to spare the lives of the common soldiers as much as possible, and to fight the gentry to the death. The Yorkists were victorious here, and the King was again captured; but six months later the Queen, who never abandoned a contest, had collected an army in the north of England, and had met the Duke of York at the battle of Wakefield, where he was slain. One of York's sons, the eighteen-year-old Earl of Rutland, tried to escape by mingling with a Lancastrian company, but Lord Clifford, whose father had been killed at the battle of St. Albans, recognized him, and stabbed him to the heart with a dagger, saying, 'By God's blood, thy father slew mine; and so will I do thee and all thy kin' (*Paston Letters*). The victory of Wakefield (1460), however, had little effect, except to show how savage the struggle between the gentry was becoming. The Duke of York's eldest son, Edward, Earl of March, was at the time on the family estates on the Welsh border. Collecting all his men together, he defeated a Lancastrian force at Mortimer's Cross (February 1461), and marching across England, entered London, while Queen Margaret, who had got as far as St. Albans and won a battle there against the Earl of Warwick, was hesitating what to do. 'If they [the King and Queen]', says the chronicler William of Worcester, 'had come with their army to London, they would have had all things as they wished.' The Queen would not risk it; Edward therefore entered London, and, as his father had been

killed, and all possibility of peace between the opposing parties was gone, he took the final step, and declared himself king. The citizens of London gladly acquiesced, for they believed that, right or wrong, he was a strong man, who would give peace and order, where the legitimate king, Henry VI, had failed to do so. So 'all the city was fain and thanked God . . . and said, "Let us walk in a new vineyard, and let us make a gay garden in the month of March with this fair white rose and herb, the Earl of March".'[1] Thus was the Crown added to the White Rose of York (March 1461).

The character of Edward IV. The new King of England was only nineteen years of age. He has left a name for carelessness and cruelty which is not altogether justified. Brought up in the demoralizing atmosphere of civil war, in a time when all moral restraints were growing loose, he behaved better than many men, whom he might have taken for an example. Two things are told of him in the Wars of the Roses: one, that he always went with his men into the attack, fighting on foot like an ordinary soldier; the other is, that he was in the habit of giving the order to spare the commons, and slay in battle the gentry, with whom the quarrel really lay. At the end of the wars, however, at the battle of Barnet (1471) he withdrew this order, because the common soldiers in the opposing ranks had been on his side, but were now fighting against him. As a king he has it to his credit that he took vigorous and successful steps to keep the country in peace and order—the real cure for the nation's ills; and in addition he personally stimulated commerce and learning—labour which makes life possible, learning which gives it grace.

The end of the Lancastrian power. Edward IV dated his reign from March 4, 1461, but he had still to fight for his throne. At the end of the same month he won a decisive battle at Towton, near Tadcaster, between the rivers Aire and Wharfe. Edward then left the pacification of the north to Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, 'the last of

[1] Gregory's *Chronicle*, p. 215.

the barons',[1] who up till 1470 consistently supported the Yorkist house as the most likely to bring peace and order to England. Queen Margaret was able to keep forces in the field and in a few castles, partly through money and supplies sent from Scotland and France (whose Governments wished to keep England weak), and partly through the support of some of the northern gentry, who had not submitted to Edward IV, and whose estates were still untouched by him. By the end of the year 1464, however, the north had been won for King Edward. The last battles were those of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham (1464). Margaret fled to France with her son. Henry VI became a prisoner in the Tower of London.

The Earl of Warwick. Edward IV was still a young man, inexperienced in government; for years the Earl of Warwick, an able and vigorous soldier, had been one of the greatest upholders of the Yorkist party. Warwick accordingly expected to be the chief man in the kingdom under the Crown. Edward, however, had no sooner come to the throne than he showed himself to be a masterful man. He did not offer to make Warwick a duke; and without consulting the Earl he suddenly (May 1464) married Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Wydville, Lord Rivers, and widow of Sir John Grey. Both her father and her first husband had adhered to the Lancastrian party. Warwick wished Edward to marry a princess of the royal family of France, a step which would help to establish the house of York among the reigning families of Europe. Edward, however, went his own way, chose his own ministers, and showed that he meant to rule the country himself. Yet Warwick was not a man to be neglected with impunity. There were men who wore his badge —the 'Ragged Staff'—all over the country. He owned immense estates round Salisbury and Warwick, and in Yorkshire. In addition to the revenues of his estates, he had an income of £40,000 a year from various offices, including the

[1] See *The Last of the Barons*, novel by Bulwer Lytton, published in 1843.

captaincy of Calais. His expenses were less than the King's, while his total income was probably greater than the whole revenue of the Crown! He was popular with the people. Wherever he went he kept open house. Every day great roasts were laid upon his tables, and any one could come and take away as much meat as could be carried on a long dagger.[1] Such a man could be a serious rival to any king. Yet few people, even in those faithless days, can have suspected that Warwick would desert to the Lancastrian side, or that Queen Margaret would accept help from the man who had ruined her husband and her son. This, however, was what actually happened. In the spring of 1470 he joined in a rebellion against Edward in Lincolnshire. The rising failed, and Warwick fled overseas, and offered his services to Margaret, who was living at the moment at the court of King Louis XI of France. The unnatural alliance was arranged, and Warwick, with a force of Lancastrian exiles and hired French soldiers, recrossed the Channel and landed in Devonshire. Edward was taken by surprise. Warwick swiftly seized London when the King was in Yorkshire, and Edward had no resource but to fly the country, and take refuge with his brother-in-law, Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy.

Barnet and Tewkesbury. For just over six months (October 1470 to April 1471) the Lancastrian Government was restored in England. Queen Margaret, for some unexplained reason, stayed on in France; Warwick administered the kingdom; Henry VI, almost unconscious of his surroundings, was brought out of the Tower and placed, says William of Worcester, on the throne 'like a crowned calf'. Edward, however, was only waiting for his opportunity. On March 11 (1471) he set sail from Flushing, with the men who had followed him into exile, and with others provided by Charles the Bold. On the 14th he landed at Ravenspur near Spurnhead in Yorkshire. As he marched southward his force increased. Warwick came out from London to meet him, but Edward cleverly placed

[1] Holinshed's *Chronicle*, vol. iii, p. 678.

his forces between those of Warwick and the capital. The decisive battle took place at Barnet in Hertfordshire, on Easter Sunday, April 14, 1471, in a dense fog. There were probably only a few thousand soldiers on either side. Edward dispersed the opposing army; the total losses, according to the *Paston Letters*, were about one thousand. Warwick died fighting, and Edward expressed regret for his death.

One more battle had to be fought before England received peace under Edward. On the day of the Battle of Barnet, Queen Margaret landed at Weymouth, with a number of Lancastrian knights. She made for the west of England, where Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, was raising some forces for her. Edward, who always showed great decision and energy when danger was present, marched west immediately. It was a race between his forces and Margaret's, and Edward won. He overtook the Lancastrians before they could cross the Severn into Wales. Outside the historic town of Tewkesbury, within sight of its majestic abbey, the Queen's forces were met and scattered (May 1471). Margaret's son was killed as he was flying from the battlefield; the Queen herself was taken prisoner, but treated honourably, and subsequently permitted to return to France. Less than three weeks after the Battle of Tewkesbury, King Henry VI, who had been put back in the Tower of London, died, 'of pure displeasure and melancholy'. So says the chronicle of the year (*Arrival of King Edward*). Others whispered that he had been murdered.

The quiet years of King Edward. For the rest of Edward's reign England was peaceful and prosperous. The old connexion with Flanders had been re-established by the marriage of his sister Margaret with Charles the Bold of Burgundy and Flanders in 1468. English foreign trade and shipping consequently increased. The well-to-do merchants were constructing beautiful brick and timbered houses, like Crosby Hall in London, with its noble rooms and charming central court.

In 1476, William Caxton, a London merchant, who had

traded and lived in Flanders, having learned the new art of printing with movable type, set up a press in Westminster, and began issuing his magnificent folios, worthy of the great literature of England. Edward IV encouraged the great printer, and gave him a pension.

In foreign affairs Edward pursued a successful policy. In 1475 he led an expedition into north-eastern France from Calais, to support Charles the Bold against Louis XI. Louis allowed Edward's army to reach the Somme, and then offered peace. The Treaty of Picquigny was signed, and the English withdrew on very favourable conditions. Edward was to receive a 'pension' of 50,000 crowns per annum and 75,000 crowns down, and English merchants were to be allowed to trade freely in French ports, subject only to payment of the regular customs dues. When the reign ended, the country had undoubtedly increased in happiness and general well-being. Edward had a way of asking for presents ('benevolences') from prominent citizens, instead of levying a general tax. It was difficult to refuse the King's request, but the principle was thoroughly bad, as it led to tyranny and intimidation. The 'benevolences', however, only amounted to £12,000 in his reign. Edward remained popular to the last, a citizen king, cheerful, good-humoured, affable to every one; dignified without coldness, rich without ostentation, cultivated, a patron of art and learning. He was like one of the civic despots of Florence or Milan, born into Renaissance England. The Burgundian chronicler, Philip de Comines, has left a picture of him:

'King Edward was a man of no great forecast, but verie valiant, and the beautifullest capital Prince that lived in his time. . . . He was as goodly a gentleman as lived in our age, I meane in this time of his adversitie (1470): for afterward he grew marvellous grosse.'

Edward V. Edward IV was succeeded (April 1483) by the elder of his two sons, also called Edward, a boy thirteen years old. The only surviving brother of the late King was Richard,

Duke of Gloucester, a good soldier and an able statesman, who was made Protector of the Kingdom, while his nephew, the King, was a minor. Edward V reigned only two months; he died in the Tower of London, along with his brother Richard, on July 15, 1485. Suspicion at the time fixed upon Richard as the author or instigator of their death, and Sir Thomas

CIVIL COSTUME.

KNIGHT. Temp. Richard II. | GENTLEMAN. Early 15th cent. | RICHARD III, when Duke of Gloucester.

More, the author of *Utopia*, who wrote the history of Edward V and Richard III in 1513, took the same view. Shakespeare adopted the story for his historical tragedy of *Richard III.*

K. Richard. Is thy name Tyrrel?
Tyr. James Tyrrel, and your most obedient subject.
K. Rich. Art thou, indeed?
Tyr. Prove me, my gracious sovereign.
K. Rich. Darest thou resolve to kill a friend of mine?
Tyr. Ay, my lord;
But I had rather kill two enemies.

K. Rich. Why, there thou hast it: two deep enemies,
Foes to my rest and my sweet sleep's disturbers
Are they that I would have thee deal upon:
Tyrrel, I mean those bastards in the Tower.
Richard III, Act IV, Sc. ii.

Richard III. The new king, the last of the Plantagenet House, had all the abilities of his race, and lacked some of their vices. The tragedy of his life lies, not in his violent end upon the field of Bosworth, but in his good qualities being marred by selfishness and ambition. During Edward IV's lifetime he had served his brother faithfully, and during the Wars of the Roses had led the 'vaward battle' of the Yorkist forces. Despite the crooked means by which he came to the throne, he proved to be a good king; he was energetic in journeying through the country, on royal 'progress', to hear the complaints of his subjects, a wholesome practice of the mediaeval English kings which lasted till the end of Elizabeth's reign. In his only Parliament, he authorized a statute making benevolences (exactions of money by the King) illegal. He was careful of the defence of the kingdom, insisting on a certain number of bow-staves (for archery) being imported with every barrel of wine. Finally, he kept the navy always in mind, and saw that the ships were in repair; his fleet gained one of the best mediaeval sea-fights of England against the Scots (off the Northumbrian coast) in 1484.

The last of the Yorkists. Yet the people felt that he was a usurper. At the time there was a scion of the House of Lancaster living in exile in Brittany. This was Henry, Earl of Richmond, son of the Lady Margaret Beaufort and the Welshman, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond. Henry Tudor was twenty-nine years old in 1485, when, with the help of the Duke of Brittany and Anne, Regent of France, he got ships and men together, sailed from Harfleur on August 1, and landed with 2,000 men at Milford Haven, near the estates which had been in his family's possession. He then marched

northwards to gather men on the Welsh March. Richard III came to meet him with what forces he could gather. The final battle of the Wars of the Roses took place near Market Bosworth, in Leicestershire, on August 22, 1485. King Richard's men were not all equally firm in his cause. The great Lancashire family of Stanley threw in its lot with Henry of Richmond on the field of battle. Richard sought to meet his rival and decide the day in person. His horse was killed under him.

Catesby. Withdraw, my lord; I'll help you to a horse.
K. Rich. Slave, I have set my life upon a cast,
And I will stand the hazard of the die.
I think there be six Richmonds in the field;
Five have I slain to-day instead of him.
A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!
Richard III, Act v, Sc. iv.

So Richard, 'fighting manfully in the midst of his enemies, was slain' (Sir Thomas More's *Life*). His portrait in the National Gallery of London shows a strong intellectual face, with lines of passion upon it, but not the face of a bad man. Yet he had at least allowed the murder of two innocent happy boys, his wards. It is the face of a man whose natural goodness had fallen before a fatal temptation, which brought him to the gates of hell while he lived.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

Modern history. The year 1485, the first of the Tudor Period, is usually considered as the beginning of the Modern History of England. It is not possible, of course, to define any particular point in which the Middle Ages may be said to end and the Modern World to begin. The Renaissance, the intellectual movement which humanized the wide though somewhat rigid knowledge of the Middle Ages, had been going on

for a hundred years before. Yorkist England shows the Renaissance at work in the country, printing-presses established, art and letters being studied with that free outlook which is characteristic of the 'new birth' of the human spirit.

The end of feudalism. But towards the end of the fifteenth century, in the reign of Henry VII and the opening of

WARSHIP, about 1485. The earliest known drawing of a four-masted ship.

the Tudor Period, certain inventions, due to an earlier age, began to be more freely and fully used. Gunpowder had been employed at the siege of Calais in 1347, yet for the next hundred and fifty years the mailed knight or man-at-arms remained the chief figure in warfare. Gradually, however, the increasing use of gunpowder diminished the value of armour, and left any one man, provided he was strong and intelligent, as effective as any other. Feudalism therefore broke down; the knightly class could not claim to be the sole governors and protectors of the country, for they

were useless without masses of common infantry, without musketeers and pikemen. Armies became 'professional'. Governments, instead of calling out the feudal levy, took to hiring men who knew how to shoot. Thus another blow was struck at the feudal system, which depended upon men living always upon the same estate, and acknowledging a lifelong tie to their landlord.

THE WESTERN WORLD as far as it was known at this date.
(Robert Thorne's map, 1527.)

The study of Greek. Education in the Middle Ages had depended upon the Latin language and literature. Vergil was the great poetic master; his legends and his imagery are used by the mediaeval epic-writers. Aristotle, a Greek, was the master of philosophy and theology, but was only known through Latin translations. But from about the year 1400 Greek had begun to be seriously studied in Italy, and by the end of the fifteenth century it was becoming known in England. The greatest scholar of the period, Erasmus of Rotterdam, was well known in England, and a friend of Sir Thomas More and of John Colet, the Dean of St. Paul's. The Chancellor of

Henry VII, Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester, was keenly interested in the 'New Learning', as in all sides of education; and after consultation with Erasmus, he founded Corpus Christi College, in the University of Oxford (1516), for the study of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. Teachers were brought from Greece itself to give instruction in the Greek tongue; and the philosophical works of Aristotle and of Plato, with

MASTER AND SCHOLAR.

the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the great Attic dramas, became known and studied as models of thought and composition. About the same time (1510) Colet founded the famous 'Grammar-school' of St. Paul's, which has done so much for the instructing and strengthening of boys' minds through the severe medium of Greek and Latin learning.

The character of the reign of Henry VII. The reign of Henry VII, however, did not witness any great advance in the Renaissance movement. He had to deal with troublesome relics and reminiscences of the unfortunate Roses struggle. He had to establish his dynasty in the fellowship of European monarchs—to obtain recognition from France, Spain, and Germany, as a legitimate king. In 1492 Christopher Columbus, the Genoese mariner, had discovered the Island of Hispaniola,

and so showed the way to the American continent. The Spanish and Portuguese began to stretch out towards the New World and to the Indies. In this great movement England as yet took no share; she was too insular, too undeveloped. Henry VII, indeed, was a far-seeing man, and the magnificent possibilities of overseas enterprise did not escape him. He helped to equip an expedition, which sailed

DIVINITY SCHOOL, OXFORD (fifteenth century). An example of an elaborate Perpendicular roof.

from Bristol under John and Sebastian Cabot in 1497, and which actually reached the mainland of America; but no English settlement followed this for nearly a hundred years.

Although there were no surviving sons of Henry VI, nor of Edward IV, Henry VII had to deal with pretenders to his throne. He had united the families of Lancaster and York by marrying the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. The marriage was popular with the people, as it softened the fact of his having gained the throne by a battle. 'And as his victory gave him the knee, so his purpose of marriage with the Lady Elizabeth gave him the heart; so that knee

and heart did truly bow before him' (Bacon, *Life and Reign of Henry VII*). It was a political marriage; Elizabeth was beautiful, gentle, and a good mother, yet Henry never showed much kindness to her, 'his aversion to the house of York was so predominant in him' (Bacon).

The Pretenders. The first pretender was Lambert Simnel. Lambert was merely the handsome son of an Oxford baker, but the audacious contrivers of the plot were trying to pass him off as Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, the son of Edward IV's brother Clarence. Warwick at the time was actually living in the Tower of London, kept prisoner by Henry VII. Lambert was taken to the English Pale in Ireland, where the house of York was remembered. In Dublin he was accepted as king. From Burgundy soldiers were sent by the Duchess Margaret, sister of Edward IV, to help the Yorkist cause. The rebels then crossed to England, but few people joined them there. At Stoke, near Newark, the King scattered their forces, and most of the leaders were slain (1487).

'For Lambert, the King would not take his life, both out of magnanimity, taking him but as an image of wax that others had temper'd and moulded; and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffer'd death he would be forgotten too soon; but being kept alive, he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like inchantments of people in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court to a base office in his kitchen; so that he turn'd a broach that had worn a crown; whereas fortune commonly doth not bring in a comedy or farce after a tragedy. And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the King's falconers.' —Bacon's *Life of Henry VII.*

The next pretender was Perkin Warbeck. Bacon says he was the son of a converted Jew of Tournai. He was, at any rate, a young man of good appearance and easy manners. The Duchess Margaret of Burgundy and Flanders heard of him through her agents, and chose him to be trained at her court. For she was a bitter opponent of Henry VII, and

wished by all means to drive him off the throne of England. When the time was considered ripe, Perkin, dressed like a king and aping the manners of royalty to perfection, was sent to Ireland (1492). Very little came of this first attempt, however, and the next two years were spent in France and Flanders. In 1495 he was back again, with Burgundian men and money, claiming to be Richard of York, the younger of the two princes who were murdered in the Tower of London. Failing again, he went to Scotland, where James IV joined his cause, and led a Scots army into England in his favour (1496). The expedition came to nothing, and Warbeck again became a wanderer, but next year his wealthy patrons enabled him to lead another expedition to Cornwall. Again Henry was ready for him; the Pretender met with no support in the country. He failed in an attempt to seize Exeter, was forced to fly, and took sanctuary at Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire. Henry VII respected the sanctuary, and Warbeck came out on promise of his life being spared. He was put into the Tower of London, but in 1499 he was caught attempting to escape along with the Earl of Warwick, and accordingly both were executed.

Sixteenth-century revolts. The rest of Henry's reign was fairly quiet, and he had little cause to fear pretenders. Yet the Tudor sovereigns who followed him had all to face revolts and conspiracies against their throne. The rule of the Tudors has sometimes been called a despotism based on popular approval. They were often autocratic; they were generally respected and esteemed. Yet the country was never for many years at a time quite peaceful under their rule, until the last years of Elizabeth. From first to last great vigilance was required, and but for the cool judgement and vigorous character of the Tudor princes, England might at any moment have found herself plunged into internecine struggles like those of the Roses.

The recognition of the dynasty. The nations of Europe were under old-established monarchies, while Henry was

a *parvenu* king, a mere earl who had climbed to the throne. Yet this great man was equal to any emergency; he laid his plans far ahead; he could work and wait for years, never relaxing his purpose, ever ready to seize the opportunity. Thus when he died his crown was recognized by the monarchs of France and the Empire, the Valois and the Habsburgs, and his family was allied by marriage with the great and regal house of Spain.

With France Henry began by a short war, waged for diplomatic reasons and ending with little blood spilt. Brittany, a great duchy practically independent of the French crown, was under the last of its ruling house, a female, the Duchess Anne. In 1491 Charles VIII married her, and Brittany was incorporated in France. Henry, protesting that this was a menace to England, collected an army, sailed from Sandwich, and landed at Calais, in October of 1492. From Calais he marched to Boulogne and laid siege to it. 'The town was both well fortify'd and well mann'd; yet it was distressed, and ready for an assault. Which if it had been given (as was thought) would have cost much blood; but yet the town would have been carried in the end' (Bacon, *Henry VII*). Henry, however, preferred to take the peace that was offered him by Charles VIII, who was anxious to be quit of the English war, so as to be able to make an expedition into Italy. Henry was given about £180,000 in cash, and a pension of about £12,000 a year. English merchants were to be allowed to trade freely with French ports. Such was the famous peace of Étaples (1492). Henry was wise in turning his back on the barren fields of the Hundred Years' War, for a new and fruitful career was opening for England on the sea.

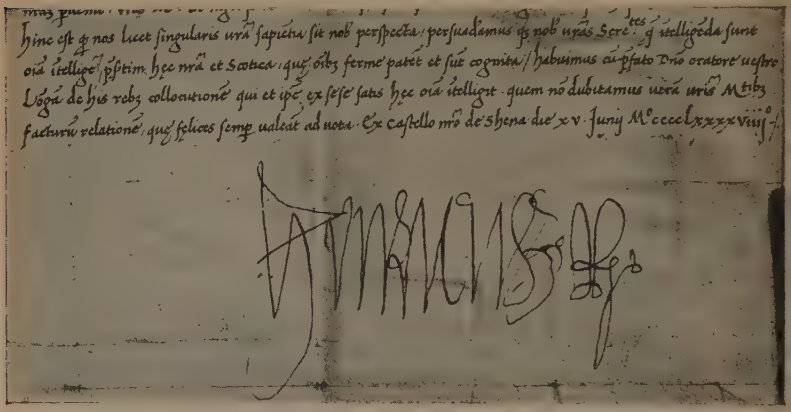
The dynastic marriages. In those days good feeling between nations depended largely upon good feeling between the monarchs. Henry VII himself had made a 'dynastic' marriage, with Elizabeth, the heiress of the house of York. Two other marriages which he arranged had the weightiest consequences. One was the marriage of his eldest son Arthur with

the Princess Katharine of Aragon, daughter of the King and Queen of Spain (1501). This important alliance shows how high had risen Henry's fame in Europe, for there was no prouder family than that of the Spanish monarchs. The alliance very nearly broke down, however, for Arthur died in 1502; but the Princess was immediately betrothed to

A MERCHANTMAN of the year 1519.

Henry's surviving son, known afterwards as Henry VIII. The other marriage which the far-seeing King arranged was that of his elder daughter Margaret with James IV, the King of Scotland (1503). The ambassador who arranged this important union was the great Bishop Foxe, of Winchester. The marriage of the Rose of England and the Thistle of Scotland, *The Thrisel and the Rois*, as William Dunbar, the Scottish poet, sang, was destined, exactly a hundred years later, to bring about the peaceful union of the two countries. Thus the victories of the seventh Henry were the victories of peace. His greatest enemy abroad, the ducal family of Burgundy, had abandoned their hostility seven years earlier, in 1496. Henry

had cut off the wool-supplies which the merchants of Flanders had been accustomed to draw from England. This and further negotiations brought the feud to an end. The treaty known as the 'Great Intercourse' was arranged, the Magnus Intercursus of 1496. Henry VII removed his restrictions on the export of wool. He received in return a guarantee that



HANDWRITING, 1499. Letter of Henry VII to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, written by his Italian secretary, Carmeliano, and signed by himself.

no more 'pretenders' would be encouraged to conspire against his throne and that English merchants might trade freely in Flanders. Henry arranged a similar commercial treaty with Venice, for the exchange of English wool for the 'Malmsey' wine of the Greek islands. It seemed as if for England the era of wars was at an end, and that of fruitful intercourse, both in trade and learning, with the cultivated states of Europe was being firmly established.

The Court of Star Chamber. Henry died in 1509 at the age of fifty-three. He had governed England for twenty-four years in comparative peace after the troubles of the Roses. Many nobles had been killed in that disturbed period; others had lost much of their property. The rest were held in check by the King, by means of the Court of Star Chamber, the

Privy Council sitting as a court at Westminster, *in camera stellata*, to deal with the evils of livery and maintenance (see pp. 176–7). This court (which itself became an abuse in later days and was abolished in 1641) did very good service in the reign of Henry VII by enforcing the law when the ordinary justices and juries were afraid to do so. 'This court', said Lord Bacon, 'is one of the sagest and noblest institutions of this kingdom,' and by it the country was kept in order; for it aimed successfully at suppressing 'force, and the two chief supporters of force, combination of multitudes, and maintenance or headship of great persons' (*Life of Henry VII*).

HENRY VII.

The character of Henry VII. The great difficulty of the mediaeval kings of England had been to pay for the expenses of government with the small amount of money which was raised by taxation. Without increasing the taxes, Henry made the English Government solvent, and left a large sum in the treasury when he died. In raising money he took every advantage which the law gave, with a severity which was much resented by the gentry. Bacon sketches the King's methods in a famous passage (*Life of Henry VII, ad fin.*):

'There remaineth to this day a report that the King was on a time entertained by the Earl of Oxford (that was his principal servant, both for war and peace) nobly and sumptuously at his castle at Heningham. And at the King's going away, the earl's servants stood (in a seemly manner) in their livery coats, with cognisances, ranged on both sides, and made the King a lane. The King called the earl unto him

and said, " My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants ". The earl smiled and said, " It may please your grace, that were not for mine ease. They are most of them my retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your grace ". The King started a little, and said, " By my faith (my lord) I thank you for my good chear, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." And it is part of the report, that the earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand marks. And to shew further the King's extreme diligence, I do remember to have seen long since a book of accompt of Empson's, that had the King's hand almost to every leaf, by way of signing, and was in some places postilled[1] in the margent with the King's hand likewise, where was this remembrance:

HENRY VIII.

" Item, received of such a one, five marks, for the pardon to be procured: and if the pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid; except the party be some other ways satisfied." And over against this memorandum (of the King's own hand) " Otherwise satisfied ". Which I do the rather mention because it shews in the King a nearness, but yet with a kind of justness. So these little sands and grains of gold and silver (as it seemeth) helped not a little to make up the great heap and bank.'

It is clear that Bacon was a great admirer of Henry; he admits that although 'justice was well administered in his time', yet when the King himself was a party, the law was strained in his favour; and 'the council-table intermeddled too much with *meum* and *tuum*'.

Henry was indefatigable in his attention to business, and he had no favourites.

'He was affable and both well and fair spoken; and would use strange sweetness and blandishment of words, when he

[1] Noted—from late Latin *postilla*, a marginal note in a Bible.

desired to effect or persuade anything that he took to heart. He was rather studious than learned; reading most books that were of any worth, in the French tongue. Yet he understood the Latin, as appeareth in that Cardinal Hadrian and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latin. . . . He was a comely personage, a little above just stature, well and straight limmed, but slender. His countenance was reverend, and a little like that of a churchman: and as it was not strange or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing, but as the face of one well disposed. But it was to the disadvantage of the painter; for it was best when he spake.'—Bacon, *Life of Henry VII.*

The reign of Henry VIII. The new king, who was eighteen years old at the death of his father, was a young man of great strength and beauty, and highly educated in the learning of the time; in many ways he reminds us of the brilliant wealthy young Italians whom the great families of Florence or Milan produced about this time. He was described by the Venetian Ambassador in London, in a dispatch to the Government of Venice, about ten years later:

'His Majesty', he says, 'is twenty-nine years old, and extremely handsome. Nature could not have done more for him. He is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom; a great deal handsomer than the King of France; very fair, and his whole frame admirably proportioned. On hearing that Francis I wore a beard, he allowed his own to grow; and as it is reddish he has now got a beard that looks like gold. He is very accomplished; a good musician; composes well; is a most capital horseman; a fine jouster; speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish; is very religious; hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days. He hears the Office every day in the Queen's chamber; that is to say Vesper and Compline. He is very fond of hunting, and never takes his diversion without tiring eight or ten horses, which he causes to be stationed beforehand along the line of country he means to take; and when one is tired he mounts another, and before he gets home they are all exhausted. He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture.'—Giustinian in Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, i. 8.

In later years, Henry appears in Holbein's picture as a man with a tendency to fatness, and with rather coarsened features; but in his earlier days there was as yet no sign of these traits. Certainly he was a strong-minded man, well able to rule a people which, after the secure times of Henry VII, was again becoming both wealthy and turbulent. And under him England alone of all the countries of Europe passed through the tremendous crisis of the Reformation without the agonies of prolonged civil war.

HENRY VIII conferring a Charter upon the Surgeons' Company.
(After a picture by Holbein.)

The condition of England. The problems which social England presented at the opening of Henry VIII's reign were acute and fraught with grave possibilities. Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, has given a life-like picture of the evils as he saw them. The book was published in Latin in 1516, and translated into English in 1551. It begins by telling how More was sent by Henry VIII on an embassy with Cuthbert Tunstall to Antwerp, to negotiate with Charles V. There More met an Antwerp citizen called Peter Giles, who intro-

duced him to a man who had travelled much, and sailed on strange seas.

'Upon a certayne daye when I had heard the divine service in our Ladies Churche, which is the fayrest, the most gorgeous and curious Churche of buylding in all the Citie, and also most frequented of people, and the service beynge doone, was readye to go home to my lodgynge, I chaunced to espye this foresayde Peter talkynge with a certayne Straunger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke, sonne-burned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast holmly about his shoulders, whome by his favour and apparell furthwith I judged to bee a mariner.'

This mariner, Raphaell Hythlodaye, had sailed to America and made many expeditions with Amerigo Vespucci, who gave his name to that continent. More invited Raphael and Peter to his house, and 'in my gardaine upon a bench covered with greene torves, we satte downe talkyng together'. It was then that Raphael told of the wonderful island of 'Utopia' (a Greek word for *nowhere*) which he had visited. But first he told how he had once resided in England, and had dined at the table of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury. At this dinner a conversation had taken place, in which the evils which then afflicted English society were touched on:

'It chaunced on a certayne daye, when I sate at his table, there was also a certayne laye man cunnynge in the lawes of youre Realme. Who I can not tell wherof takynge occasion, began diligently and earnestly to prayse that strayte and rygorous justice, which at that tyme was then executed upon fellones, who, as he sayde, were for the moste parte xx. hanged together upon one gallowes. And, seyng so fewe escaped punyshement, he sayde he coulde not chuse, but greatly wonder and marvel, howe and by what evil lucke it shold so come to passe, that theves nevertheles were in every place so ryffe and so rancke.'

The cause of the prevalence of thieves and vagabonds was to a great extent the undeveloped condition of England, the want of sufficient handicrafts and manufactures. And the number of idlers was swelled by men who came home from the

wars maimed and lame and unable to work, but still more by the number of servants kept by the gentry.

'These gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idlenesse themselves, but also carrye about with them at their tailes a great flocke or traine of idle and loyterynge servyngmen, which never learned any craft wherby to gette their livynges. These men as soon as their mayster is dead, or be sicke themselves, be incontinent thrust out of dores. For gentlemen hadde

CIVIL COSTUME.

Temp. Hen. VII.

E. OF SURREY.
Temp. Hen. VIII.

LORD RUSSELL.
Temp. Eliz.

rather keepe idle persones, then sicke men, and many times the dead mans heyre is not hable to maintaine so great a house and kepe so many serving men as his father dyd. Then in the meane season they that be thus destitute of service either starve for honger, or manfullye playe the theves. For what would you have them to do? When they have wandered abrode so longe, untyl they have worne thredebare their apparell, and also appaired their helth, then gentlemen because of their pale and sickely faces and patched cotes, will not take them into service. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke: knowynge wel ynoughe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and faythful service to a poore man wyth

a spade and a mattoke for small wages and hard fare, whyche beynge deyntely and tenderly pampered up in ydilnes and pleasure, was wont with a sworde and a buckler by hys syde to jette through the strete with a bragginge loke, to thynke hym selfe to good to be anye mans mate.'

Another evil was the decay of tillage. After the Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt landlords had frequently, for lack of workers, turned their plough-lands into pasture. At the beginning of the sixteenth century this process was being carried so far that it was said there would soon be no yeomen left on the land. The disastrous prophecy has never been fulfilled in England, where agriculture still remains one of the greatest industries; yet in the sixteenth century the process of enclosing plough-land for pasturage was undoubtedly going far, and was driving people off the land. Hythlodaye says in the *Utopia*:

'Your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be become so great devowerers and so wylde, that they eate up and swallowe downe the very men them selfes. They consume, distroye, and devoure whole fieldes, howses, and cities. For look in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest, and therefore dearest woll, these noblemen and gentlemen: yea and certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them selfes with the yearely revenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nor beynge content that they live in rest and pleasure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique: leave no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures: thei throw downe houses: they plucke downe townes, and leave nothing standynge, but only the churche to be made a shepe-howse. And as though you loste no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chases, laundes, and parkes, those good holi men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into desolation and wildernes. Therfore that one covetous and unsatiable cormaraunte and very plage of his natyve contrey maye compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers of grounde together with one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne.'

Finally, the trickiness of the King's Council in finding

expedients for raising money is sketched with humour and trenchancy:

'Suppose that some kyng and his counsel were together whettinge their wittes and devisinge, what subtell crafte they

WARSHIP, period 1514–45. From Cott. MS., Aug. 1, i. 18.

myght invente to enryche the kinge with great treasures of money. First one counselleth to rayse and enhaunce the valuation of money when the kinge must paye anye: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to lesse than it is worthe, when he muste receive or gather any. For thus great sommes shel be payd wyth a lytyl money and where lytle is due muche shal be receaved. Another counselleth to fayne warre, that when under this coloure and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate aboundaunce of money, he maye, when it shall please him, make peace with greate solempnitie and

holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compassion forsothe upon mans bloude, lyke a loving and a mercifull prince. Another putteth the kynge in remembraunce of certeine olde and moughteeaten lawes, that of longe tyme have not bene put in execution, whych because no man can remembre that they were made,

THE HENRY GRACE A DIEU. From a MS. at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

everie man hath transgressed. The fynes of these lawes he counselleth the kynge to acquire: for there is no waye so proffitable, nor more honorable as the whyche hathe a shewe and coloure of justice.'—More's *Utopia*, Book I.

The condition of the Utopians and other mythical peoples whom Hythlodaye visited is contrasted with the unfavourable state of England. Thieves among the Utopians were not hanged, but were put into a convict's dress, their heads shaven, and to distinguish them better 'the typpe of the one ear is cut of'. They were then hired out to the farmers, to do an

honest day's work, returning at evening to their prisons. Other reforms are outlined, with much shrewd indirect criticism of England; but the life of the perfectly Socialist Utopian native is too far removed from the facts of history to detain us longer here. Yet the whole of More's work should be read, for the ideas of social and economic life which it conveys, and also for the romance of adventure which it contains. Everywhere there is the suggestion of far voyages, of trafficking in strange lands, and of sailing over strange seas—suggestions like:

> . . . magic casements, opening on the foam
> Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.
>
> (Keats, *Ode to a Nightingale.*)

Wolsey. Henry VIII had the faculty of choosing able men for his ministers. Among those, the most famous was Thomas Wolsey, an accomplished man, with charming manners, who rose rapidly from one position in the Church to another, till in 1514 he became Archbishop of York. Wolsey is the last of the great clerical statesmen who had been so prominent in mediaeval England. Since his time, with the exception of Bishop Gardiner in the reign of Mary I, all the high ministers in the Crown's service have been laymen. Wolsey was not only the last great clerical statesman, he was the greatest, or at least the most powerful; for fifteen years, 1514 to 1529, he almost ruled England, labouring incessantly in the office and at the council-table, and in the closest confidence of the King.

The French War. It was in connexion with the war which Henry VIII waged with France between 1511 and 1514 that Wolsey came into great prominence, acting in the difficult position of victualler of the army, to the entire satisfaction of the King. The war, in which Henry had been induced to join by his father-in-law Ferdinand of Spain, was useless to England. Henry dreamed of regaining Guienne, but the expedition sent there in 1512 had no success. Next year, Henry himself went to France and won a smart action at Guînegâte (called the Battle of the Spurs, by Englishmen),

near Calais. Thérouenne was captured. The Scottish king attempted to make a diversion in favour of France. James IV, true to the 'Auld Alliance' of Scotland and France though he was married to Henry VIII's sister, led an army over the border. It was met by an English army under the Earl of Surrey, at Flodden in Northumberland, on September 9, 1513. The battle began about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. By nightfall the Scots had lost their king and the bulk of the army, though the survivors withdrew in good order. This terrible defeat left its mark on almost every family, at least in the south of Scotland.

I've heard them lilting at our ewe-milking,
Lasses a' lilting before dawn o' day;
But now they are moaning on ilka green loaning [1]—
The Flowers of the Forest are a' wede [2] away.

In har'st, at the shearing, nae youths now are jeering,
Bandsters [3] are lyart [4], and runkled, and gray:
At fair or at preaching, nae wooing, nae fleeching [5]—
The Flowers of the Forest are a' wede away.

We'll hear nae mair lilting at our ewe-milking;
Women and bairns are heartless and wae;
Sighing and moaning on ilka green loaning—
The Flowers of the Forest are a' wede away.

(Jane Elliot, *A Lament for Flodden.*)

Wolsey's foreign policy. Wolsey's title to statesmanship rests on his having seen the futility of the continental wars, which were being waged to increase the dominions of one royal house as against another. The way this great game was played by the heartless princes of Europe is admirably sketched in More's *Utopia*:

'Well, suppose I were with the French kynge, and there sittynge in his counsell, whiles, in that mooste secrete consultation, the kynge himself beynge there presente in hys owne personne, they beate their braynes, and serche the verye bottomes of their wittes to discusse by what crafte and meanes the kynge maye styl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe

[1] = lane, field-track. [2] = reft. [3] = binders.
[4] = faded. [5] = coaxing.

fugitive Naples, and then howe to conquere the Venetians, and howe to bringe under his jurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with divers other landes, whose kindomes he hath longe ago in mind and purpose invaded. Here whiles one counselleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, so longe to endure, as shall be thought mete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besides that to geve them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they have brought theyr purpose about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme againe. Another thinketh best to hiere the Germaynes. Another woulde have the favoure of the Swychers wonne with money. Anothers advyse is to appease the puissaunte power of the Emperoures majestie wyth golde, as with a moste pleasaunte and acceptable sacrifice. Whiles another gyveth counsell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragone, and to restoore unto him hys owne kyngedome of Navarra, as a full assuraunce of peace. Another commeth in with his five egges, and adviseth to hooke in the kynge of Castell with some hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine Pieers of his courte for greate pensions. Whiles they all staye at the chiefeste doubte of all, what to do in the mean time with Englande, and yet agree all in this to make peace with the Englishmen, and with mooste suer and stronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeshippe, so that they muste be called frendes,

'MAXIMILIAN' SUIT OF ARMOUR BELONGING TO HEN. VIII.

and hadde in suspicion as enemyes. And that therfore the Skottes muste be hadde in a readines, as it were in a standynge, readie at all occasions, in aunters the Englishmen shoulde sturre never so lytle, incontinent to set upon them.'

Against such imbroglios, Wolsey had the courage to set his face. In 1514 he negotiated peace with France. This was the third peace, which marked the abandonment, in spite of tentative renewals, of the policy with which England had engaged in the Hundred Years' War. Thus Edward IV had made the Peace of Picquigny (1475), Henry VII that of Étaples (1492), and now, under the influence of Wolsey, the Peace of 1514 was made. Henry's sister Mary married Louis XII of France, and although Louis only lived three months after this, the marriage marks a final stage in the process by which England gave up her continental policy. From this time, England only interfered in continental affairs in order to preserve a certain balance, an equilibrium between the power of the various great states, so that none should grow so big as to control Europe, and to endanger the independence of England herself. Thus during the rest of his period as king's minister, Wolsey is found busy first in trying to maintain friendly relations with Francis I of France and the Emperor Charles V (till 1522), then till 1525 in alliance with the Emperor. In 1525, however, Charles V defeated and captured Francis I at the battle of Pavia in North Italy; Wolsey accordingly arranged that England should support France, in order to correct the balance. This policy, ably enough conceived, was not very successfully executed. In 1527, in consequence of a political quarrel with the Pope, Charles V sent his army to Rome. The Holy City was stormed, sacked, and the Pope Clement VII made practically a prisoner. Thus Charles V became supreme in Italy, and controlled the policy of the Papacy. This fact had a very important influence upon Henry's attitude towards Clement VII, and helped to bring about the rejection of the Pope's authority in England.

Luther. In 1517, an Augustinian Friar, Martin Luther, who was a professor in the University of Wittenberg in Saxony, attacked the practice of 'indulgences'. By an indulgence, the Pope or his deputies signified to the indulged person the remission of a certain number of days in purgatory —days which in any case would not have come till after death. The granting of indulgences, which has since been strictly regulated, was in the early years of the sixteenth century an evident abuse; indulgences, in fact, were being openly sold, to raise money for St. Peter's, the magnificent church which Leo X was building in Rome. From criticizing indulgences, Luther went on to criticize some of the most sacred doctrines of the Catholic religion; he was accordingly expelled from the Church, and with him many others felt compelled by conscience to leave the faith of their fathers. Thus began in Germany the movement known as the Reformation.

The religious feelings of England. The Reformation movement in Germany met with some response in England. For in this country there had been, for at least a century and a half, a number of adverse critics of the Papacy. Langland, in *Piers Plowman*, had denounced the covetousness of the Church; Parliament under Edward III had several times called attention to the decay of clerical discipline in England, and to the corruption of the Papal Court, during the period when the Pope was resident in the 'sinful city of Avignon'. John Wycliffe had questioned, though in a guarded manner, the doctrine of transubstantiation (p. 143), and his followers, the Lollards, had been regarded as heretics by Church and State in England. Lollardy lasted, though without a great number of adherents, into the reign of Henry VIII, and united with those who, for other reasons, were becoming sympathetic towards Luther's views. The total number of these reformers was small, in 1529, compared with the whole population. Henry VIII himself showed no sympathy with them, and wrote in defence of the sacraments of the Church (1521).

For this work he received the thanks of Pope Leo X, together with the title of *Defensor Fidei*, which is still borne by the King of England, and is inscribed on his coins.

The divorce of the Queen. About 1527, the King began to show doubts about the legality of his marriage with Queen Katharine. She was the widow of his elder brother Arthur, and he had married her on his accession to the throne in 1509. To make certain that the marriage would be in order, a dispensation or express declaration of validity had been obtained from the Papacy. But in 1527 he desired Pope Clement VII to declare that the marriage was unlawful and therefore void, owing to the fact that Katharine was his sister-in-law. This decision Clement refused to give, either because he did not believe it to be just, or because Charles V, who was the nephew of Katharine, and who since the sack of Rome (May, 1527) held Clement in his power, would not permit it. Henry, who was obstinately set on the divorce, proceeded to deny the Pope's authority altogether, and to make himself the Supreme Head of the Church in England. When this change in the English constitution had been accomplished, he found no difficulty in obtaining a divorce for himself in the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury (1533). Thus the authority of the Pope was rejected by Henry VIII for private reasons, and the Reformation movement, with which Henry himself had no sympathy, was indirectly encouraged and allowed to expand.

Henry's strong desire for the divorce seems to have arisen from his passion for Anne Boleyn, a lady-in-waiting at the court. Anne was a gay, vivacious, pretty woman, and undoubtedly strong-willed and ambitious. She saw the chance of becoming queen, and held the King at a distance until he had made this possible. And so occurred one of the romances of history, a romance with a sordid touch; the granddaughter of a London merchant found favour in the King's eyes, and was raised to the throne. To bring this about Queen Katharine had to be removed, and an undeserved slight

put upon her. For in the Catholic Church divorce does not merely put an end to marriage; it declares the marriage to have been void from the beginning. Thus the divorce of Queen Katharine had the effect of making her daughter Mary illegitimate. In January 1533 the King married Anne Boleyn.

The fall of Wolsey. Up till 1529 Wolsey had been Henry's right-hand man, and had managed to satisfy nearly all the King's aims. He failed, however, to carry through successfully the negotiations with Rome for the divorce of Queen Katharine. This failure lost him Henry's favour, and brought about his fall. He was even accused of high treason. Sir Thomas More succeeded him as Chancellor. Wolsey died in Leicester Abbey on his way from York (his episcopal see, which he had visited all too seldom) to London, on Nov. 27, 1530.

Wolsey. I have ventured,
Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
This many summers in a sea of glory,
But far beyond my depth: my high-blown pride
At length broke under me, and now has left me,
Weary and old with service, to the mercy
Of a rude stream that must for ever hide me.
Vain pomp and glory of this world, I hate ye:
I feel my heart new open'd. O, how wretched
Is that poor man that hangs on princes' favours!
There is, betwixt that smile we would aspire to,
That sweet aspect of princes, and their ruin,
More pangs and fears than wars or women have:
And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer,
Never to hope again.

Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, Act III, sc. ii.

Other ministers were to feel the intense warmth of the sunshine of the King's favour, and then the fickleness of it all.

The completion of the breach with Rome. On November 3, 1529, Parliament met, after an interval of seven years. The people, proud of their ancient independence, resisted the claim of the Pope to settle English affairs in Rome, and thus, although the proposed divorce of Queen Katharine was not

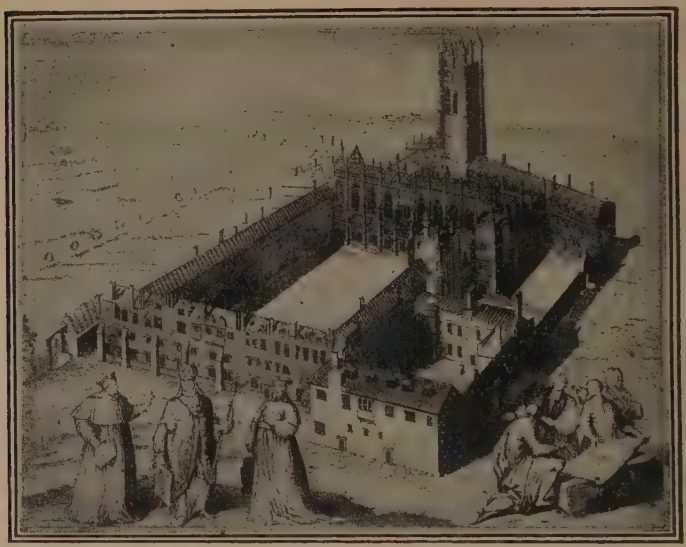
generally popular, Englishmen were willing to assert the independence of their country against Papal interference. There was no intention in Parliament of touching the doctrines of the Church, but there was complete readiness to restrict the jurisdiction of the Pope. Hitherto, each Parliament had existed, as a rule, for only one session, and fresh elections had taken place before the next session. Henry VIII, however, having in 1529 obtained a Parliament of the views which he desired, kept it together for seven years. This was the famous 'Reformation Parliament'.

The Parliament began by cutting down the fees which people were bound to pay to the clergy in England. The control of the Crown over the Church courts was made stricter (1531). In 1533 an Act of Parliament forbade any appeals from English courts to be carried to Rome. Next year, the payment of annates (the first year's income of a bishopric) to Rome was prohibited, and the appointment of bishops, which had been the chief subject of the great dispute between Henry I and Anselm (p. 64), was given over to the Crown. To this day, bishops of the established Church in England are appointed by the Crown, through the Prime Minister.[1] In the same year (1534) a statute was passed completely abolishing the authority of the Pope in England, and in 1535 Henry, by Act of Parliament, became 'Supreme Head of the Church of England' (Act of Supremacy).

The Reformation under Henry VIII. All connexion with the Papacy was broken off, and the Church in England became an independent, national body, under the King; its highest ecclesiastical official was the Archbishop of Canterbury. But although the authority of the Papacy was rejected, the Church of England was not 'Protestant' in doctrine, nor did it in any degree become so till after Henry's death. The fact that

[1] 'In form, an archbishop or bishop is still elected by the dean and chapter... but the *congé d'élire* from the Crown, which conveys the authority to elect, is accompanied by a letter missive, designating the person to be chosen, and they must choose him under the pains and penalties of a praemunire.'—Lowell, *The Government of England*, ii, ch. 51.

there was no drastic change in doctrine is of the highest importance in our history. Most people in England remained, at the time of the separation from Rome, attached to the old doctrines; but they did not greatly resent the rejection of Papal authority, which since the days of William the Conqueror had always been regarded rather jealously by English-



MAGDALEN COLLEGE. Built in the second half of the fifteenth century.

men. Thus there was comparatively little opposition aroused against Henry's measures. There were no riots, no destruction of churches. The noble cathedrals and the fine parish churches built in the Middle Ages were preserved, and the impressive and dignified ritual of the Roman Church was to a large extent retained. England was fortunate in receiving its Reformation by easy stages, so that most of what was good in the old system was preserved, and the destruction and misery which accompanied the religious wars on the Continent were avoided.

The monasteries. The secular priests of the Church in

England, the ordinary priests of parishes who did not live in communities, accommodated themselves, on the whole, easily to the new system of Church government. The majority of the bishops, led by Archbishop Cranmer, who was a married man, also showed themselves compliant to the King. The monasteries, however, were more attached to the Papacy. Corporate bodies always preserve a tradition

HIGH STREET, OXFORD. From an old engraving.

more completely than do individuals; the monks lived in communities which, by their history, training, and rules, were more closely associated with the Papacy than were the secular priests. The monasteries, moreover, held a great deal of landed property, and the tendency all through modern history (which was then just begun) has been to look with disfavour upon holders of property who do not engage in active life. The monks had the reputation of being lenient landlords, but Sir Thomas More in *Utopia* complains that they, like the lay landlords, let their land in sheep farms rather than for agriculture, so that the number of people

living on the land greatly diminished. The monasteries were charitable, but indiscriminate charity helps to perpetuate or even to increase the number of beggars which it intends to diminish. The great opportunity of the monasteries was in the work of education. With their ancient libraries, and with the time at their disposal, the monks could have carried on schools in their communities and have raised the standard of education all over England. It is in this respect that the monasteries missed their chance. There were not a great number of schools in England before the Reformation, and very few of them were conducted by monks. The colleges of Winchester and Eton were in the hands of secular priests, as were also most of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. When therefore the monasteries were attacked by the Government of Henry VIII, they had little to say for themselves; if few grave charges could be proved against them as a whole, yet little could be advanced in their favour. The bulk of the evidence that has since come to light tends to prove that, though not grossly immoral, the monks were as a whole neither learned nor zealous, nor strikingly devout, and that as religious communities they had largely outlived their usefulness.

The dissolution of the monasteries. In certain of the monasteries something more than sloth had crept in; vice and immorality were found to exist. The most notorious monastery in this respect was St. Albans, in connexion with which there is full though varying evidence. But immorality cannot be established as a general charge against the monasteries of England. It was on account of their attachment to the Papacy, and on account of their property, that Henry VIII and his minister Cromwell resolved to abolish them. In 1536, among the last Acts of the 'Reformation Parliament', a bill was introduced and passed to dissolve all monasteries, of which the property was valued at less than £200 a year. The men of the northern counties resented this, and rose in a rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, but with some

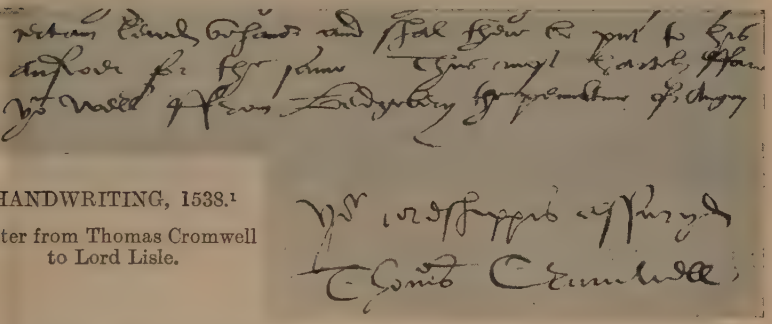
difficulty were repressed. Then the inexorable king proceeded on his way. One by one, all the remaining monasteries were dissolved and their property confiscated to the use of the Crown.

Effects of the dissolution of the monasteries. The number of monks at the time of the dissolution numbered something between four thousand and eight thousand. They received a certain amount of consideration from the Government. Those under twenty-four years of age were absolved from the vows which they had taken on becoming monks; most of the rest were pensioned, with sums which, at the present value of money, would be from £25 to upwards of £1,000 per annum. Only the Abbots of the greatest monasteries which surrendered themselves to the King received the large pensions. The nuns were worse treated than the monks, being simply given a gown from the King, and left to find work or to live upon charity. The wealth obtained from the confiscation of the monastic lands was used in three different ways: some went into the royal treasury, and was used as part of the general revenue of the country, for instance in building forts on the coast; some was used in endowing six new bishoprics—Westminster (which only lasted till 1550), Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, Gloucester; the rest of the monastic property was either given to gentlemen as a reward for services, or sold. The nobles and gentry who thus received the monastic lands acquired them quite honestly, although sometimes on rather easy terms. The conditions of sale or transfer from the Crown generally contained a provision that the same amount of land was to be kept under the plough, as had, on an average, been kept by the monasteries during the last twenty-five years. The families which acquired the monastic estates were the new, official nobility, the governing class with 'a stake in the country', whom Henry VII and Henry VIII called into existence to support their crown. They have, on the whole, been admirable landlords, and have done much for the great agricultural industry of England.

The endowments of the monasteries, however, had not been originally intended for the support of the English governing class. With the advance of the Reformation movement in England, it was impossible that these communities should go on existing, on their large estates, with ever-dwindling numbers of monks. The modern Englishman has shown a complete disinclination to take to the monastic life, and if the monasteries had been left at the Reformation, they would, in a generation or two, have been practically empty. Yet, though a drastic change was bound to take place with regard to the monasteries, they ought not to have been diverted to wholly different uses. They might have been used for educational and religious purposes under the reformed system. Enthusiasm for education was a characteristic of the Renaissance, and Henry VIII, himself a product of the Renaissance, should have shown the same enthusiasm too. Nor were the methods by which the dissolution was carried out above reproach, as may be inferred from the famous memorandum of Cromwell, who was carrying out the inquisitions over the monasteries: 'item, the Abbot of Reading, to be tried and hanged for treason to-morrow.' There must have been many tragedies of real life enacted, when old men, compelled to quit the peaceful walls of their abbey, looked their last upon the storied windows, the mouldings, and the tracery of the chapel in which they so long had worshipped, and which was soon to be in ruins.

THOMAS CROMWELL.

The doctrinal Reformation. In Europe, generally, the term Reformation has meant the rejection of the Papal authority, the reform of the discipline of the clergy, and certain changes in doctrine. In England, under Henry VIII, the first two changes were accomplished; the power of the Pope was no longer legal in England, while the discipline or mode of life of the clergy was completely changed, for instance, by many of



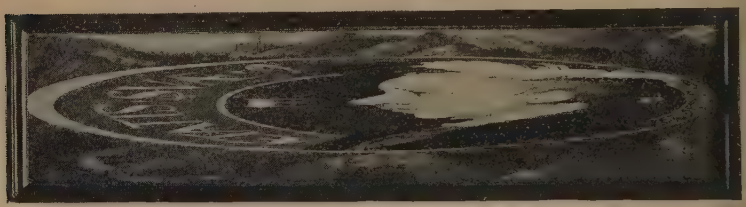
HANDWRITING, 1538.[1]
ter from Thomas Cromwell
to Lord Lisle.

them becoming married. Changes in doctrine, however, were not at first admitted into the English Church, which held equally aloof from the Lutheran movement of Germany and the Calvinist movement of Geneva. In 1540, Archbishop Cranmer induced the King to order that a translation of the Bible should be placed in every church, and that any man might read it there at his pleasure. Thus the Scriptures were opened to all who could read, and the right of private judgement, which is the essence of the Reformation, was vindicated. For this is the great difference between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches. The Roman Catholics hold that the ordinary person goes dangerously astray when he is

[1] c(c)rtain lewd behauor and shal there be put to his | answer for the same Thus most hartely Fare | you well From Bedgebery the penultime of August.

Yo(u)r lordshippis assuryd
Thomas Crumwell.

left to interpret Scripture for himself; it must be carefully expounded to him by a trained priest. Protestantism, on the other hand, makes less of the priest as an intermediary between God and man, and encourages the ordinary person to think for himself. The right of private judgement belongs to Protestants; but they often forget that this carries with it the duty of thinking.



A PERSPECTIVE PORTRAIT OF EDWARD VI.

To correct the distortion, hold the page almost level with the eyes and view from the right.

The last years of Henry VIII. The last fifteen years of Henry VIII were in the nature of a reign of terror; for all who opposed the will of the iron and relentless King sooner or later lost their heads. Among his earliest victims were Bishop Fisher of Rochester and Sir Thomas More, who refused the oath which they were bound to take under the Act of Succession (1534). By this Act, the issue of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn had been declared heirs to the throne, instead of Mary, the child of Henry and the divorced Katharine. Fisher and More died on the scaffold, and their heads were placed on London Bridge (1535). It was because they denied the King's ecclesiastical supremacy that these men suffered the extreme penalties of the law: it was not because they held Catholic doctrine. Such doctrine, indeed, was enforced by Henry VIII, and its denial punished as heresy. In 1539, a bill was passed through Parliament, which became known as the Statute of Six Articles. These articles enforced the chief Catholic doctrines and customs; for instance, that

transubstantiation was true, that communion for the laity by means of bread, without the cup, was sufficient, that the clergy should not marry.

Under this Statute, towards the end of Henry's reign, Protestants were burned as heretics, while, on the other hand, for contravening the Statute of Supremacy, Catholics were beheaded as traitors. *In medio tutissimus ibis*, 'thou shalt be safest in the middle way,'—but it was hard to find a middle way with a tyrant like Henry.

The dark days drew to a close. Katharine of Aragon died in 1536, having resided since the divorce on one of the royal manors, with a small pension from the King. Anne Boleyn, Henry's second wife, was executed on a charge of infidelity to the King in the same year. His next wife, Jane Seymour, died shortly after giving birth to Prince Edward. Thomas Cromwell next proposed an alliance with a Lutheran prince of Germany; and Anne, daughter of Duke William of Cleves, was brought over to be married to the King. But Henry, who before she came to England had only seen Holbein's now well-known portrait of the lady, immediately took a dislike to her; she was accordingly divorced, and left to pass the rest of her life at Richmond Palace with a pension of £3,000 per annum —a large sum for those days (1540). Cromwell, who had suggested the marriage, paid for the mistake with his life, being executed in July on a charge of treason. The ductile Parliament passed the bill to execute Cromwell as easily as that to divorce Anne of Cleves. On the same day on which Cromwell was executed, the King married Katharine Howard, a niece of the Duke of Norfolk. Henry was now 50 years old; Katharine was probably about 20. She was executed in 1541, on a charge of immoral conduct. In 1543 Henry married Katharine Parr, the widow of Lord Latimer, and a devout adherent of the Reformed doctrines. Henry did not live long enough to make her another example of his cruelty. A great eater, he had become so corpulent that he could not stand upright without support. He died on

January 28, 1547, on the same day as the Duke of Norfolk was to have been executed on a trumped-up charge of treason. Henry was a ferocious tyrant, with many accomplishments, passionately fond of music, interested in learning and literature, and to him England owes the magnificent foundation of Trinity College in Cambridge; he was a sagacious statesman, and possibly no other man could have piloted England through the crisis of the breach with Rome. In the reign of Charles I, Lord Herbert of Cherbury wrote his *Life*, and accurately described how Henry was regarded by his people:

'With all his crimes, yet he was one of the most glorious princes of his time: Insomuch, that not only the chief potentates of Christendome did court him, but his Subjects in generall did highly reverence him, as the many trials he put them to testifie: which yet expired so quickly, that it may be truly said, All his Pomp died with him; his Memory being now exposed to obloquy, as his accusers will neither admit Reason of State to cover anywhere, or Necessity to excuse his actions.'

CHAPTER XV

THE COMPLETION OF THE REFORMATION

The religion of England. At the death of Henry VIII, the bulk of the country still remained attached to the old faith, though showing no great zeal for it. A minority—a growing minority—had become intensely enthusiastic for the Reformed opinions, which had been brought from Germany. Under Edward VI the Reformed opinions made rapid headway, favoured by the King and the court.

Edward VI. The new King was only ten years old when his father died. His mother, Jane Seymour, had died shortly after his birth, and he had been brought up under the influence of the Seymour family, in the Reformed opinions. He was a well-educated boy, serious beyond his years, and from the first year of his reign took his seat at the Council table and gave his opinion on matters of state. He was too young, however, to have an independent judgement, and was in reality guided by the men who surrounded him, all of whom were, for various reasons, determined to advance the Reform Movement.

The Scottish war. Both Henry VII and Henry VIII had steadily pursued the plan of uniting Scotland and England in one realm. The marriage of the Princess Margaret with James IV was the first important step in that direction since the reign of Edward I. This alliance, however, between the Tudor family of England and the Stewart family of Scotland, had soon broken down. The battle of Flodden (p. 215) seemed again to make the two families irreconcilable. James V, although the son of Margaret Tudor, followed the policy of his father, James IV; he held by the old alliance of Scotland and France, and throughout his reign (1513–42) remained a strong Catholic. In 1542 the tension between the Kings of Scotland and England burst into war, and a Scots army of 10,000 men was met by Sir Thomas Wharton, the

English 'Warden of the Western March', at Solway Moss in Cumberland (November 25, 1542), put to rout, and practically destroyed. James V died of disappointment and fever at the news, leaving his capable wife, Mary of Lorraine, to administer the kingdom of his newly-born daughter, Mary Queen of Scots. Henry VIII seized the opportunity of the weakness of Scotland to propose a treaty of friendship, and the betrothal of the baby Mary to his own son Edward. He died, however, and hostilities were still intermittently continued between the two countries.

Young King Edward was under the guardianship of his uncle, the Earl of Hertford, or, as he is generally known, the Duke of Somerset, a title which he easily obtained from his ward. Somerset was a man of large ideas, and of a certain nobility of mind. At the same time he was fond of wealth and greedy of power, while his plans for the good of the kingdom were generally put into execution too hastily. It was so with Scotland. He proposed that King Edward and Queen Mary should be married, and that Scotland and England should be united not merely in the person of the monarchs, but in government and administration: 'with the sea for a wall and mutual love for its garrison,' the Scots and English were to live together, under the common name of Briton. Matters, however, did not go quickly enough; the Roman Catholic party, the bulk of the people of Scotland, made difficulties. In the autumn of 1547 Somerset invaded Scotland with twenty thousand English, Spanish, Italian, and also, it is said, Greek mercenaries. The Scots army was met, and, with the help of gunfire from some English ships in the bay, defeated at Pinkie Cleugh, on the coast, about seven miles east of Edinburgh. It was the worst possible way to set about persuading the Scots to a union. The young queen was immediately shipped off from Dumbarton, in the west of Scotland, to France; she was brought up at the French court as a strict Catholic; in course of time she married the French king, Francis II; and she returned to Scotland in 1561, to

become the determined opponent of the Reformation and of England.

The First Prayer Book of Edward VI. Somerset was an ardent Reformer, as indeed was Cranmer, although under Henry VIII the Archbishop had been obliged to subdue his own enthusiasm. They now took measures to dissolve such religious foundations as had escaped the dissolution which befell the monasteries. Colleges of education were spared, but all the chantries, pious foundations for praying for men's souls, were done away with. Their property was partly used for starting or helping the grammar schools which still bear the name of King Edward VI. In 1549, the First Prayer Book was written, a complete manual of prayer and worship for the Church services, in the English tongue. Already in the first year of the reign of Edward VI, the important step had been taken of ordering that the Epistle and the Gospel, at the service of High Mass, should be read in English. The rest of the service was still given in Latin. In 1548 the Six Articles of Henry VIII (pp. 228–9) were amended by Parliament, so as to give the cup, as well as the bread, to the congregation at the celebration of Holy Communion. Next year the new Prayer Book was authorized by Act of Parliament. This book was to a large extent a translation (by Cranmer) of the prayers and forms of worship which had been used in England, in the Latin tongue, for over a thousand years. These prayers, rendered into dignified and solemn English, show at once the Reformed position of the Church of England, and also its continuity with the Church of the Middle Ages. In doctrine the new Prayer Book was not so 'Protestant' as to prevent those who were attached to the old faith from coming to the Church services. The central point of the old faith was the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the Roman Catholics holding the belief that the elements of bread and wine become the actual flesh and blood of Our Lord. The Prayer of Humble Access of the First Prayer Book left room for the belief of this doctrine :

'We do not presume to come to this thy table (o mercifull

lord) trusting in our own righteousnes, but in thy manifold and great mercies : we be not woorthie so much as to gather up the cromes under thy table : but thou art the same lorde whose propertie is alwayes to haue mercie : Graunt us therefore (gracious lorde) so to eate the fleshe of thy dere sonne Jesus Christ, and to drynke his bloud in these holy Misteries, that we may continuallye dwell in hym, and he in us, that our synfull bodyes may bee made cleane by his body, and our soules washed through hys most precious bloud. Amen.

Ket's Rebellion. Shortly after the issue of the First Prayer Book, a rebellion broke out in Norfolk, under one Ket, a local landowner, who had made a fortune in the tanning trade. The rebels complained of the number of new nobles who had been created since the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and of the amount of land which they had 'enclosed'. 'Enclosing' meant sometimes the turning of ploughland into pasture-land by the landlords, sometimes the fencing of common land for the use of some private individual. The first kind of enclosure took place, for instance, when a lease for lives ran out. The landlord could then resume possession of the holding and throw it into a pasture farm. The enclosing of common land could legally take place if the local landlord really owned it, even though the villagers had been allowed to use it 'in common' for a hundred or more years. One result of 'enclosing' was that the land maintained fewer small farmers than before, as Bishop Hugh Latimer pointed out to Edward VI in a sermon preached before the King in March 1549.

'My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went into Blackheath field.[1] He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my

[1] When the Cornish rebels were defeated, in 1497.

sisters with five pound, or twenty nobles apiece; so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did of the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by year, or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.' (Latimer's Sermons.)

Enclosures were diminishing the number of such yeomen; and those that were left were getting too poor to educate their sons. 'For if ye bring it to pass that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school (as indeed universities do wondrously decay already), and that they be not able to marry their daughters; I say, ye pluck salvation from the people and utterly destroy the realm. For by yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is and hath been maintained chiefly.' And again, preaching before the King in the year following Ket's rebellion, Latimer boldly spoke the truth:

'They in Christ are equal with you. Peers of the realm must needs be. The honest ploughman is in Christ equal with the greatest prince that is. Let them, therefore, have sufficient to maintain them, and to find them their necessaries. A plough land must have sheep; yea they must have sheep to dung their ground for bearing of corn; for if they have no sheep to help to fat the ground, they shall have but bare corn and thin. They must have swine for their food, to make their veneries or bacon of: their bacon is their venison, for they shall now have *hangum tuum*,[1] if they get any other venison; so that bacon is their necessary meat to feed on, which they may not lack. They must have other cattle, as horses to draw their plough, and for carriage of things to the markets; and kine for their milk and cheese which they must live upon and pay their rents. These cattle must have pasture, which pasture if they lack, the rest must needs fail them; and pasture they cannot have if the land be taken in, and enclosed from them. So, as I said, there was in both parts rebellion. Therefore, for God's love, restore their sufficient unto them, and search no more what is the cause of rebellion.'

[1] i.e. They will be hanged by the King under the Forest Laws.

Ket's rebellion was put down, not by Somerset, but by the energetic John Dudley, Earl of Warwick. Simultaneously there had been risings in Cornwall and Devonshire against the new Prayer Book. The risings sealed Somerset's fate. He had shown weakness during the rebellion. He had even shown sympathy with the complaints of the rebels against enclosures. He was charged with high treason and beheaded in 1552.

The period of the Duke of Northumberland. Dudley now assumed chief power over the kingdom, and showed himself no better than others in those grasping times, by getting himself made Duke of Northumberland. From principle or from self-interest, he supported the now strong reform party, and under his authority in 1552 the second Prayer Book of Edward VI was issued, marking a definite stage in the Reformation movement. Under Henry VIII the Roman obedience had been thrown off, but the doctrines of the Church remained Catholic. The first Prayer Book had introduced a simpler liturgy, and one, above all, which was in English, and therefore open to all people; but it was not contrary to Roman Catholic doctrine. The second Prayer Book, however, definitely stated the Protestant position; taking the Consecration Prayer of the Holy Communion as the test, it is clear that the elements of bread and wine were to be held as merely commemorative of Christ's death, not as his actual flesh and blood:

'Heare us, O mercyefull father wee beeseche thee; and graunt that wee, receyuing these thy creatures of bread and wyne accordinge to thy sonne our Sauioure Jesus Christ's holy institucion, in remembraunce of his death and passion, maye be partakers of his most blessed body and bloud.'

Edward had never been strong, and much early study and application to business had further weakened his overstrung body. In 1552 he had measles, and afterwards small-pox. Then a bad cough set in, which may have denoted the wasting disease of consumption. He died on July 6, 1553, at the age of 16. He seems to have been a good, serious

youth, anxious to do his duty, overburdened with the cares of his station. The schemers who surrounded his death-bed had done nothing to cheer or make easy this sad young life.

Queen Mary. Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and Katharine of Aragon, was a woman of plain features and a weak constitution. She had, however, like all the Tudor monarchs, a resolute spirit and staunch courage. On her accession to the throne she had to face a serious rebellion. Before the death of Edward VI the ambitious Northumberland had married his fourth son, Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane Grey, the granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister Mary. When Edward died, Jane Grey was proclaimed sovereign; she had been brought up in the reformed faith, to which she was attached, and it was hoped that all the reformed part of the population would support her. Mary's determined conduct, however, overthrew this design. She at once raised a party in Norfolk, where the Catholic family of Howard was strong, and refused to treat with Northumberland. The small army he had hired saw that the feeling of the country was against him. His men fell away; he attempted to make terms with Mary, but though abjectly submissive, he was treated as he deserved, being beheaded for treason.

The Marian reaction. The rest of Mary's reign is the story of her attempt to bring England back to the Roman Catholic obedience. It was reformers who had divorced her mother, and who had made her own early years unhappy; it was members of the reforming party that had nearly dispossessed her of her throne. The only friends she had in the time of her disfavour had been ardent Catholics; her confidential advisers were priests, who carefully impressed her with the idea that she was destined to bring back erring England to the bosom of Holy Church. Nervous, excitable, sickly, she brooded upon this idea until it became a perfect passion. No relaxation was allowed her: her priests kept her great mission constantly in her thoughts. As her life drew to a close she became wretched, hysterical, cruel; pathetically eager for

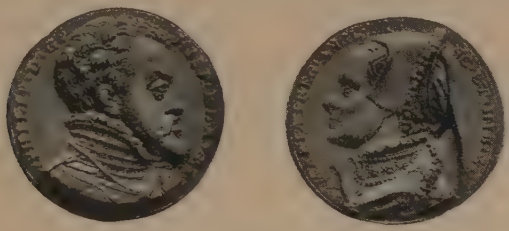
affection, she knew that she was loved neither by her husband nor by her people. With no home life, no children to cheer and occupy her moments, no wholesome activities, she gave herself over to the religion that only brought her fresh troubles; and she must have many times lived through the horrible death by burning to which she sent the people she was so anxious to save. The stern clergy who kept the unhappy suffering woman to her terrible task must be held accountable, in part, for her decline and death, while their measures roused an apathetic nation to hate the Pope, and so definitely turned the scale, which so long had been balanced between the old and new faiths, now definitely to the side of the reform.

The restoration of Roman Catholicism. The events which now followed showed how easily England might, for a time at any rate, have been kept for a liberal Catholicism, so long as obedience to the Pope was not required. It was this the English disliked. William the Conqueror had, nearly five centuries before, enacted that no Pope should be recognized in England without the king's consent. John's subjection of England as a fief to the Papacy had done more than anything else to ruin his prestige. Edward III's Statute of Praemunire had forbidden subjects to appeal from any decision of the king or his courts to Rome. Thus the rejection of Papal jurisdiction by Henry VIII had been in line with the normal development of English policy, and was not a violent shock at all. The English were proud of their ecclesiastical, as of their political, independence. With Catholic doctrine, on the other hand, they had, in general, no quarrel, although, on the whole, they liked to see their clergy married, to hear the Church prayers in English, and to listen to independent, open-minded sermons, like those of Hugh Latimer.

Mary's first Parliament went a long way to meeting her wishes. Two bills were passed. One bill annulled the divorce of Henry VIII and Katharine of Aragon, so that while Mary's position was made more regular, the marriage which Henry had contracted with Anne Boleyn became unlawful. The

second bill restored the ancient form of worship, thus imposing the Latin Liturgy and the regular Roman doctrines, in place of the English Bible and Prayer Book, which had been established in use in Edward's reign.

The Spanish marriage. Soon after Mary's accession the Emperor Charles V had suggested that she should marry his son Philip, the heir to Spain and the Netherlands. Mary, who kept in mind all her life her Spanish mother's misfortunes, welcomed the notion of the Spanish marriage, and



PHILIP II AND MARY.

persuaded herself of being in love with Philip before she ever saw him. The country, however, disliked the idea, and we can see in this that aversion to Spain which in Elizabeth's reign children seemed to breathe in, as it were, with the English air. Against the proposed marriage, and against the restoration of Catholic worship, a rebellion arose in Kent, under Sir Thomas Wyatt (January–February 1554). The rebels advanced to the capital, failed to take London Bridge, obtained a crossing at Kingston, and fought their way through London to Ludgate Hill, before they were finally defeated and dispersed. Mary had been urged to fly by her Council, but had refused. Again, as in the rebellion of the Duke of Northumberland, her resolution triumphed. The rebels were defeated. Wyatt himself was captured and beheaded. Lady Jane Grey and her husband, Guildford Dudley, who had been prisoner in the Tower since the rebellion of 1553, suffered the death penalty also.

Anti-papal statutes repealed. The defeat of the rebellion of Wyatt seemed to Mary like a sign from God that her religious policy was approved in heaven. It had another baleful effect in arousing her passion and stifling her feelings of pity. For she had set her heart upon the marriage with Philip of Spain; and the rebellion, which was largely directed against the marriage, had nearly lost her this husband. The sickly woman reflecting upon this became a fierce relentless bigot. The Parliament of 1554 was induced to repeal all the anti-papal statutes of Henry VIII's time. Cardinal Pole, who was a grandson of Edward IV's brother Clarence, came from Italy the same year, with a commission from Pope Julius III to absolve England from her heresy and readmit her to the bosom of the Church. The solemn absolution took place in the presence of Parliament, but the lords and gentry would not give up the monastic lands, and the Pope, with a bad grace, had to acquiesce.

The persecutions. Then followed three miserable years, before Mary died just in time to save her throne from a violent upheaval. Philip of Spain had come to England in July 1554, and remained till autumn, 1555. He only returned once (in 1557), although he held the title of King of England. Before departing he had counselled moderation in religious policy to Mary; but she, more bitter than ever after the withdrawal of her husband, who, she knew, did not love her, proceeded, sadly enough, upon her disastrous course. Under the revived statute 'de haeretico comburendo' courts of episcopal inquisitors were set up, and at least 277 persons, who held the reformed opinions, suffered the terrible death of burning. Three of the most notable and beloved of the English clergy were publicly burned in the open space in front of Balliol College, outside the north wall of Oxford (1555–6). These were the gentle Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; the learned Ridley, Bishop of London, and the eloquent, though somewhat rough-tongued reformer, Latimer, Bishop of Worcester. It may be some consolation to weaker brethren

to know that when brought before their ruthless accusers Cranmer had quailed and renounced his 'heresies'; yet after this lapse he returned to constancy of mind, boldly avowed the reformed religion, and met the martyr's death (March 21, 1556). Latimer's words to Ridley when they were being tied to the fearful stake (Oct. 16, 1555) have come down to us as a cheerful message from that time of blood and horror:

> 'Be of good comfort, Master Ridley. Play the man: we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out' (Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*).

Mary's last days. It was not long before Mary had to follow her victims to the bar of judgement beyond the grave. Now thoroughly disliked by the people, she was to bring one more disaster upon the country before she died. In 1557, Philip was at war with France, for the control of Italy. In foreign policy, Mary's affection for her husband made England a kind of appanage of Spain. A Spanish army, under the great soldier, Emmanuel Philibert, of Savoy, accompanied by 7,000 English soldiers under the Earl of Pembroke, invaded France from the side of Flanders. On August 10, 1557, they met the French army outside St. Quentin, a fortress on the right bank of the Somme, and won a complete victory. The French, however, managed to prolong the campaign into the winter, having recalled from Italy their able general the Duke of Guise. To raise and equip the English force which fought at St. Quentin had cost too much for the straitened finances of Mary's Government; the defences of Calais, the last English possession in France, had not been properly maintained. The 'Pale' or district round Calais was cut up in all directions by canals and ditches, made to drain the low-lying land, as well as to protect it from attack. In winter, when the canals and pools or 'plashes' were full of water, the Pale was considered impregnable, and the garrison was therefore, to save money, reduced. In the winter of 1557, although England was at war with France, the garrison was

at its usual low number. Unfortunately the winter was severe ; in December the country was, in parts at least, frozen. The energetic Duke of Guise carried out a swift invasion of the Pale with 25,000 men, on New Year's Day, 1558. By the end of January, Calais and the Pale had passed for ever out of the hands of the English. This last misfortune broke the spirit of Mary, who, like all the Tudor monarchs, was patriotic and proud of England's name. Her religious policy had failed, her foreign policy had failed ; by an astonishing combination of circumstances, she was actually, at the time of her death, at war with the Pope. For Pope Paul IV was supporting the French in Italy against Spain, and Philip, King of Spain and of England, with whom the English Government was in alliance, had occupied the States of the Church up to the walls of Rome.

Mary died on November 17, 1558, of dropsy. The Spaniard, Gonzales, has reported that she said if her breast were opened after her death, Calais would be found engraven on her heart. Her death undoubtedly saved England from some violent rebellion ; so she was at last fortunate in her death.

The close of the Reform Movement. The Catholic reaction of Mary Tudor had failed ; with the accession of her half-sister, Elizabeth, the Reformed Church became definitely established in England. Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, and the marriage of her father and mother had only been made possible by the breach with Rome. In temperament she was almost an ideal ruler for the English. For they objected to the Pope's supremacy, to the great power of the priesthood, and to the use of a strange tongue in their religious services ; but they had a real affection for the stately and dignified ceremonial, the solemn comely Gothic buildings, the historic associations, of the ancient Church. Elizabeth, though not papal, was certainly Catholic in her sympathy ; and so under her was established the Church of England, as it still exists, owning the King, not the Pope, as its supreme head, praying and preaching in English, with an educated, married clergy living closely in

touch with the people—but a Church, on the other hand, which goes back without any violent break to the Middle Ages, and to Augustine, administered in the same way through priests and bishops, and with a form of worship, somewhat simplified indeed, but still like the mediaeval liturgy, beautiful and dignified.

The establishing of the Church of England. A Book of Common Prayer, substantially the same as the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, was issued at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and its use was commanded in every church in the land. The organization of the clergy—the arrangement of parishes and dioceses, the ranks of deacon, priest, bishop—was kept, as indeed it had been kept all through the Reform movement. Two Acts of Parliament defined and made legal the two great differences between the Church of England and the Roman Church (1559). The first was the Act of Supremacy, which declared that the Sovereign was the supreme earthly head of the Church, and that no foreign jurisdictions (meaning the Papacy) had any authority in England :

'VII. And to the intent that all usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal, may for ever be clearly extinguished, and never to be used or obeyed within this realm or any other your Majesty's dominions or countries ; may it please your Highness that it may be enacted, That no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of Parliament, use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, pre-eminence, or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm or within any other your Majesty's dominions or countries that now be or hereafter shall be, but from thenceforward the same shall be clearly abolished out of this realm and all other your Highness' dominions for ever ; any statute, ordinances, custom, constitutions or other matter or cause whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.' (Prothero, *Statutes and Constitutional Documents*, p. 5.)

Any 'jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, pre-eminences,' which the Pope had ever exercised in England were henceforth

to 'be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm'. (Act of Supremacy, cap. VIII.)

The second Act was the Act of Uniformity:

'And further be it enacted by the Queen's Highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by order of the same, That all and singular ministers in any cathedral or parish church or other place within this realm of England, Wales, and the marches of the

TUDOR FURNITURE.

same or other the Queen's dominions shall from and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, be bounden to say and use the Matins, Evensong, Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the sacraments and all their Common and open Prayers in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book so authorized by Parliament in the said fifth and sixth years of the reign of King Edward the Sixth with one alteration or addition of certain Lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year and the form of the Litany altered and corrected and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise.'

(Ibid., p. 14.)

The Act of Uniformity did not merely put upon all clergy the duty of conducting their services strictly according to the

Prayer Book; it put upon all the people in the country the duty of going to Church every Sunday, saying:

'that from and after the said Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, all and every person and persons inhabiting within this realm or any other the Queen's Majesty's dominions shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavour themselves to

CIVIL COSTUME IN ELIZABETH'S REIGN.
Left to right from high to low degree.

resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed or upon reasonable let thereof to some usual place where Common Prayer and such service of God shall be used in such time of let, upon every Sunday and other days ordained and used to be kept as Holy Days, and then and there to abide orderly and soberly during the time of the Common Prayer, Preachings or other service of God there to be used and ministered; upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church and also upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit for every such offence twelve pence, to be levied by the Churchwardens of the parish where such offence shall be done, to the

use of the poor of the same parish, of the goods, lands and tenements of such offender, by way of distress.'

(Ibid., p. 17.)

Finally, in 1563, the doctrines of the Church of England, as implied in the Book of Common Prayer, were defined and set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles (a revision of Articles drawn up in the reign of Edward VI), and are now included in the modern Prayer Book.

The growth of Nonconformity. Elizabeth and her Council, in which the leading spirit was the wise Sir William Cecil (Lord Burghley), hoped to establish a wide, tolerant Church, which would include every Englishman. This was why penalties were prescribed against any one who would not attend the established Church, although the penalties were not very heavy. It was felt that the political independence of England was bound up with the religious independence. At this time a vigorous movement was going on within the Roman Church, to purge it of the abuses of which the Protestant reformers had complained. This movement, called the 'Counter' or 'Catholic' Reformation, recovered a great part of the influence which the Roman Church had lost in Europe; and with the vigorous missionary efforts of the Society of Jesus or Jesuits (established in 1540), it seemed likely to reconvert a great part of England, as indeed, between 1580 and 1590 it reconverted the Irish. Elizabeth feared the Counter Reformation, which might bring with it not merely the power of the Pope, but the power of his 'Most Catholic Majesty' of Spain. The English Church was, therefore, made as wide as possible, offering, as it was said at the time, a *via media*, a middle way, between the extremes of Rome and Geneva, that all England might subscribe to. This noble ideal has been only partly fulfilled. The easy-going, the tolerant, and the devout 'Anglicans' subscribed to the Church of England; but the sterner Catholics remained outside. At the same time, the sterner Protestants, those who had adopted the views of the great theologian and reformer, John Calvin of Geneva, found the English Church, with its

ancient vestments and forms of worship, too like the old Papal services to suit them. So they, too, stayed outside the Elizabethan Church settlement. Nevertheless, it was a great work to establish a Church to which in theory at least all English subjects belonged, whose comforts and consolations

LORD BURGHLEY. Showing nobleman's costume.

could be denied to none, and which provided a moral rule that bound every one, without infringing on their personal freedom :

'It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England, ever since the first compiling of her Publick Liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness of admitting any variation from it.' (Preface to the Book of Common Prayer.)

The Reformation in Scotland. While Elizabeth was settling the Church question in England, a Reformation movement had been going on in Scotland. The Scottish Reformation differed markedly from the English in this: in England the Reform (in its initial stages at least) was imposed by the Crown upon the people; in Scotland, it was imposed by the people upon the Crown. It was, therefore, a more violent movement in Scotland, and resulted in the destruction of nearly all the great cathedrals and abbeys. In the far northern Orkneys a mediaeval Scottish cathedral has been preserved intact—the red sandstone Cathedral of St. Magnus at Kirkwall, a beautiful, dignified, and noble edifice, presiding over the quaint old fishing town. Glasgow has its cathedral too, and Edinburgh has its splendid collegiate church of St. Giles. But the other cathedrals of Scotland are all ruined; the ancient parish churches have gone, and the tradition of Gothic architecture was for centuries lost.

All the Scottish kings down to and including Queen Mary were faithful children of the Catholic Church. The Reform movement, which appeared in the reign of James V (1513–42), at the same time as in England, made no great progress, although the Scottish Church was full of abuses which cried for correction. It was not till John Knox came upon the scene that the Reformation was carried out. Thus the Reformation in Scotland was much later than in England. Scotland was, in fact, the last country won to Protestantism. John Knox was born in 1505 at Haddington, and was educated at the town school and at Glasgow University. After leaving the university he settled as a lawyer in his native town, and also took the minor orders of the Catholic Church; he may even have become a priest. Soon, however, he grew attached to the reformed opinions and became a follower of the great Scottish reformer, George Wishart. When the Scottish Government persecuted the new opinions, the reformers seized St. Andrew's Castle and defended themselves in it; Knox joined this band, and it was when preach-

ing to them in the chapel of the castle that he was called by the congregation to the ministry. In 1547, after more than a year's siege, the Regent of Scotland, Mary of Guise, with the help of a French fleet, captured the castle. Knox was sent to work in the French galleys, but after two years was released on the intercession of Edward VI of England. For a time he lived in England, but went abroad during the persecution under Mary, and after sojourning in various places, went to Geneva, where be became associated with the French reformer, John Calvin.

Thus when Knox returned to Scotland in 1559 he was deeply imbued with the Calvinist doctrines and was a convinced Presbyterian. His eloquence, his earnestness, his powerful, uncompromising personality, were eminently suited, as was the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, to the severe temperament of the Scots of those days. Calvinism spread rapidly, and when the young Mary, the widowed Queen of France, came to Scotland in 1561 to rule as well as to reign there, she found most of the country already 'reformed'. During the rest of her reign Knox was striving to keep Mary on what he held to be the right path ; and it was his preaching more than anything else perhaps which convinced the Scottish people of her misdeeds. Knox hated the French influence in Scotland, and welcomed the overtures which Lord Burghley made to him from England. When Mary fled from her kingdom after the rising of the Scots lords in 1568, the Roman Catholic system was rooted out of Scotland, and Presbyterianism reigned supreme.

CHAPTER XVI

THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND

The widening of the national outlook. The romance of Elizabeth's reign is on the sea. Hitherto England had been insular; but at the time of the Renaissance and Reformation the outlook of the nation had been widened. The study of Greek had come by way of Italy. Men began to travel more. Two notable men of Henry VIII's reign, the Earl of Surrey (Henry Howard, son of the Duke of Norfolk) and Sir Thomas Wyatt (who was the father of the rebel of Mary's reign), had travelled in Italy and brought back the sonnet form of poetry, which had flourished there since Petrarch's time. Since Chaucer's day poetry had languished in England, but with Surrey and Wyatt the tradition was renewed again, so that in Elizabeth's reign England became 'a nest of singing birds'.

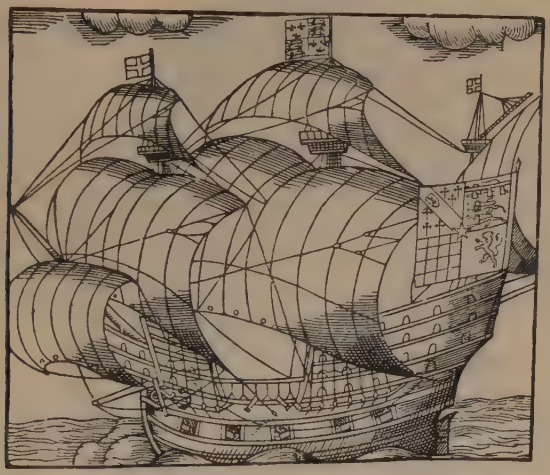
THE DECADENCE OF ARMOUR.

Puffed suit of sixteenth century, imitating civil dress.

At the same time commerce began to flow more steadily outwards. In 1553 two gentlemen adventurers, Willoughby and Chancellor, in their own ships, had sailed into the White Sea and had begun a trade with Archangel, the northern outlet of Russia. Within a few years the English 'Muscovy Company' was doing a thriving trade in those parts.

The New World. The religious persecutions of Mary's reign seem to have left the hardy men of the south coast dissatisfied with life in England, while the wealth of the country, which

had been steadily increasing since the Wars of the Roses, gave them the necessary resources for overseas enterprise. This inclination and opportunity made them look westwards, over the great ocean, where sixty years before the Genoese sailor Columbus had shown the way. It was the Spaniards, however, who had penetrated the New World; the wonderful *conquistadores*, the companions of Cortez and Pizarro, had carved out new realms for the King of Spain in Mexico

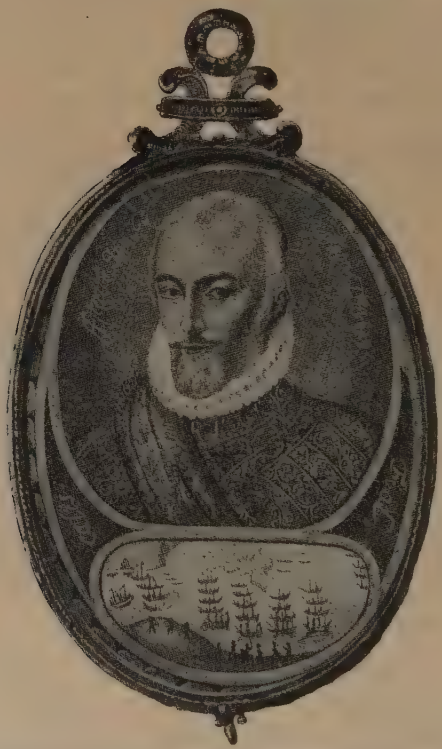


THE 'PRIMROSE' OF LONDON, 1585.

and Peru. The Spanish in South America, the Portuguese in India, were the great colonizing powers of the sixteenth century. Already, by the time Elizabeth came to the throne, there were thriving Spanish towns in Central America and on the Pacific coast of Peru. As yet the English did not colonize distant lands. They trafficked overseas, in year-long voyages, and then returned home.

Raleigh. The overseas empire of Great Britain was not built up through any deliberate policy of the Government, and the private adventurers who sailed abroad had little thought beyond fighting Spain and gaining a living. But

there was one man who dreamed of an England on the other side of the Atlantic. This was Walter Raleigh, the son of a Devonshire squire. He was born in 1552, at Hayes, near Budleigh Salterton, and went, apparently, to one of the

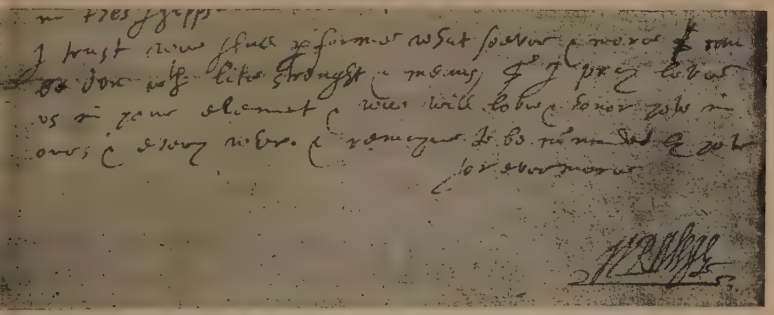


SIR WALTER RALEIGH. From the Duke of Rutland's Miniature.

local grammar schools. There he learned to be a good scholar, though to the end of his life he spoke the English of a Devonshire countryman. When he was fourteen he went into residence for three years at Oriel College, and at the age of seventeen he went to France and fought, as many other Elizabethans did, for the Huguenots. He was at the battles

of Jarnac and Moncontour (1569); and altogether saw five years continuous service in the Religious Wars.

A few years later (1578), after reading law for some time in London, he took an expedition with his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to the Azores, against the Spanish, and in 1580 he was captain of a company of foot in the English forces in Ireland. He was one of the commanders who received the capitulation of 600 Spaniards at Smerwick,



HANDWRITING, 1597.[1] Letter of Raleigh to Cecil.

where they had landed and fortified themselves (they were all, except their superior officers, executed as pirates). Next year, being sent with dispatches to England, he went to the court at Greenwich, and there one day, as the Queen was coming from her barge (it is related in Fuller's *Worthies*), he spread his fine plush cloak in the mud for her to tread on. The Queen was attracted by the handsome, bright-eyed young man; and he, it seems, fell in love with the Queen. Once, the story is told that he scratched on a window of Greenwich Palace:

Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall;

[1] I trust wee shall p(er)forme what soeuer & more can | be dvn w(i)th like strenght & means, S[r] I pray loue | vs in your element & wee will loue & honor yow in | ours & euery wher, & remayne to be com(m)anded by you.

for euermore
W. Ralegh.

and the Queen (who had an equally ready wit), when she saw it, scratched an answering verse :

If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.

It was not at Court that Raleigh's title to fame was to be won, though he remained a favourite there till 1592, when he lost the Queen's favour by marrying one of her maids of honour, Elizabeth Throgmorton.

Between his coming to court, in 1581, and the death of Queen Elizabeth, his chief activities (when he was not writing poetry, philosophy, or history) were employed in the Irish wars, and in expeditions against the Spaniards. It was in 1585 that he started his great colonizing project, when he fitted out an expedition to sail to America, and to make a permanent settlement there under the English flag. He put his own money into this venture, and got all his friends to subscribe. The expedition sailed under his cousin Richard Grenville, and planted the first English settlement in America —the colony of Roanoke in *Virginia*. The colonists were starved out in a year ; Raleigh sent two more expeditions, which failed likewise, with considerable loss of life. They brought back, however, two things to England—the tobacco plant, which Raleigh was the first Englishman to smoke, and the potato, which he cultivated on his Irish estate at Youghal. The rest of the story of this most remarkable Elizabethan belongs to the reign of James I.

Sir John Hawkins. It was not colonization, however, but the miserable trade in slaves that first took the Elizabethan sailors to the Spanish Main. In 1562 John Hawkins, of Plymouth, a sailor who, like his father, had been engaged in trade with Spain, resolved to make a more distant enterprise. Partly at his own expense, and with the help of other daring spirits, he fitted out a squadron of ships, which sailed, with the crews armed and disciplined, like a naval squadron, to Africa and then to the West Indies :

' Master John Hawkins having made divers voyages to the

Isles of the *Canaries*, and there by his good and upright dealing being grown in love and favour with the people, informed himself amongst them, by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West *India* whereof he had received some knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the advertisements and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulars assured that *Negros* were very good merchandise in *Hispaniola*, and that store of negros might easily be had upon the coast of *Guinea*, resolved with himself to make trial thereof, and communicated that device with his worshipful friends of *London* : namely with *Sir Lionel Ducket*, *Sir Thomas Lodge*, *Master Gunson*, his father-in-law *Sir William Winter*, *Master Bromfield*, and others. All which persons liked so well of his intention that they became liberal contributors and adventurers in the action. For which purpose there were three good ships immediately provided : the one called the *Solomon*, of the burden of 120 tons, wherein *Master Hawkins* himself went as General : the second the *Swallow*, of 100 tons, wherein went for captain *Master Thomas Hampton* : and the third the *Jonas*, a bark of 40 tons wherein the master supplied the captain's room : in which small fleet *Master Hawkins* took with him not above 100 men, for fear of sickness and other inconveniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subject.'

(Hakluyt, pp. 6–7. [Oxford, 1907.])

On the Guinea Coast, Hawkins got 300 negroes, helpless human beings, torn from such homes as they had, by the chiefs who sold them to the adventurers, or by the adventurers themselves. With this human cargo, and with the general merchandise they had brought from England, the adventurers sailed to Hispaniola and traded with the Spanish settlers. Under Spanish law foreigners were not allowed to trade with Spanish colonies ; but the settlers wanted the slaves for their sugar plantations, and the fierce adventurers were too well armed to heed the protests of the Spanish officials.

Hawkins's second voyage. The second expedition of Hawkins took place in 1564. This time the 'General's' ship was a fair size—700 tons burden ; the rest varied in dimensions, the *Swallow* being the size of a modern fishing smack :

'Master John Hawkins, with the *Jesus* of Lubeck,[1] a ship of 700, and the *Solomon*, a ship of 140, the *Tiger*, a bark of 50, and the *Swallow* of 30 tons, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundred three score and ten, as also with ordnance and victual requisite for such a voyage, departed out of Plymouth the 18 day of October, in the year of our Lord 1564, with a prosperous wind.' (Hakluyt, p. 9.)

Small or large ships were indifferent to those men of sterling heart. The sailing orders of John Hawkins on this expedition show something of the spirit of that great age :

'The small ships to be always ahead and aweather of the *Jesus*, and to speak twice a day with the *Jesus* at least. If in the day the ensign be over the poop of the *Jesus* or in the night two lights, then shall all the ships speak with her. If there be three lights aboard the *Jesus*, then doth she cast about. If the weather be extreme, that the small ships cannot keep company with the *Jesus*, then all to keep company with the *Solomon*, and forthwith to repair to the island of Teneriffe, to the northward of the road of *Sirroes*. If any happen to any misfortune, then to show two lights, and to shoot off a piece of ordnance. If any lose company and come in sight again, to make three yaws,[2] and strike the mizen three times. Serve God daily, love one another, preserve your victuals, beware of fire, and keep good company.' (Hakluyt, p. 10.)

After taking their human cargo from West Africa they sailed to the Spanish Main (the Mainland of Central and South America), where they saw many strange sights, among others, the crocodile :

'In this river we saw many crocodiles of sundry bignesses, but some as big as a boat, with four feet, a long broad mouth, and a long tail ; whose skin is so hard that a sword will not pierce it. His nature is to live out of the water, as a frog doth ; but he is a great devourer, and spareth neither fish, which is his common food, nor beasts, nor men, if he take them, as the proof thereof was known by a negro, who, as he was filling water in the river, was by one of them carried clean away and never seen after. His nature is ever when he would

[1] Bought from Lubeck by Henry VIII for the Royal Navy.
[2] = angles in the course.

have his prey, to cry and sob like a Christian body, to provoke them to come to him, and then he snatcheth at them.'

(Hakluyt, p. 43.)

On the way home, coasting by way of Florida, the adventurers became acquainted with tobacco :

'The Floridians, when they travel, have a kind of herb dried, who, with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire and the dried herbs put together, do suck thorough the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and there with they live four or five days without meat or drink.' (Hakluyt, p. 61.)

The third voyage of Hawkins, in 1567, ended in a fight off St. Juan d'Ulloa. The Spanish viceroy of New Spain (or Mexico) appeared with a fleet of twelve ships, against Hawkins's six, to stop the smuggling trade. A regular sea-battle ensued ; Hawkins lost four ships ; the fifth subsequently foundered at sea ; only one, the *Judith*, of 50 tons burden, with Hawkins and Francis Drake on board, returned to Plymouth. Henceforth there was to be 'no peace beyond the line'.[1]

Frobisher and the North-west Passage. The great enterprise of polar exploration was begun for England by Martin Frobisher, a Yorkshire sailor, who had long dreamed of finding a way to China, round North America. In 1576 the Earl of Warwick helped him with money to fit out three ships, one a mere pinnace of 10 tons, the other two barks of 20 and 25 tons. The pinnace went down in a storm ; the 25-ton bark gave up and sailed home, but Frobisher in his little *Gabriel* of 20 tons sailed on to Greenland, and found a passage which he thought lay between America and Asia. He succeeded in sailing back to England to equip a new expedition, but five of his men had to be left behind, taken prisoners by the Esquimaux. These men later managed to build a rough boat

[1] In 1493 Pope Alexander VI had drawn a line from pole to pole across the map, one hundred leagues west of the Azores, and had adjudged that all countries discovered to the east of this line were to be Portuguese, and all discovered to the west, Spanish.

from some timber left by Frobisher, and in this frail craft they set out over the uncharted seas, past mountains of ice, for England. They were never heard of more.

Frobisher made two more voyages to the northern coast of Canada and to Greenland. On the third voyage (1578) he drifted through the ice into the straits now known as Hudson's Straits. On this voyage he had fifteen ships, one of 200 tons burden, the others of various smaller size; fearful dangers and difficulties were encountered with ice, which one of the captains, George Best, has described in his narrative of the voyage:

FROBISHER.

'This was a more fearful spectacle for the fleet to behold, for that the outrageous storm which presently followed, threatened them the like fortune and danger. For the fleet being thus compassed, as aforesaid, on every side with ice, having left much behind them, thorough which they passed, and finding more before them, thorough which it was not possible to pass, there arose a sudden terrible tempest at the south-east, which blowing from the main sea directly upon the place of the Straits, brought together all the ice a sea-board of us upon our back, and thereby debarred us of turning back to recover sea-room again; so that being thus compassed with danger on every side, sundry men with sundry devices sought the best way to save themselves. Some of the ships where they could find a place more clear of ice, and get a little berth of sea-room, did take in their sails and there lay adrift. Other some fastened and moored anchor upon a great island of ice, and rode under the lee thereof, supposing to be better

guarded thereby from the outrageous winds, and the danger of the lesser fleeting ice. And again some were so fast shut up, and compassed in amongst an infinite number of great countries and islands of ice that they were fain to submit themselves and their ships to the mercy of the unmerciful ice, and strengthened the sides of their ships with junks of cables, beds, masts, planks, and such like, which being hanged overboard on the sides of their ships, might the better defend them from the outrageous sway and strokes of the said ice. But as in greatest distress men of best valour are best to be discerned, so it is greatly worthy commendation and noting with what invincible mind every captain encouraged his company, and with what incredible labour the painful mariners and poor miners, unacquainted with such extremities, to the everlasting renown of our nation, did overcome the brunt of these so great and extreme dangers. For some, even without board upon the ice, and some within board upon the sides of their ships, having poles, pikes, pieces of timber, and oars in their hands, stood almost day and night without any rest, bearing off the force, and breaking the sway of the ice with such incredible pain and peril, that it was wonderful to behold; which otherwise no doubt had stricken quite through and through the sides of their ships notwithstanding our former provision; for planks of timber of more than three inches thick, and other things of greater force and bigness, by the surging of the sea and billow with the ice were shivered and cut in sunder, at the sides of our ships, so that it will seem more than credible to be reported of. And yet (that which is more) it is faithfully and plainly to be proved, and that by many substantial witnesses, that our ships, even those of greatest burdens, with the meeting of contrary waves of the sea, were heaved up between islands of ice, a foot well-near out of the sea, above their water-mark, having their knees and timbers within board, bowed and broken therewith.' (Hakluyt, pp. 144–5.)

The north-west passage by the frozen Arctic Ocean has baffled all adventurers. The actual results of Frobisher's enterprise (apart from the discovery of some mineral districts) was to train a most hardy school of sailors, whose traditions have been carried on by the whaling crews of a later day.

The opening of the Pacific. The glorious Pacific Ocean,

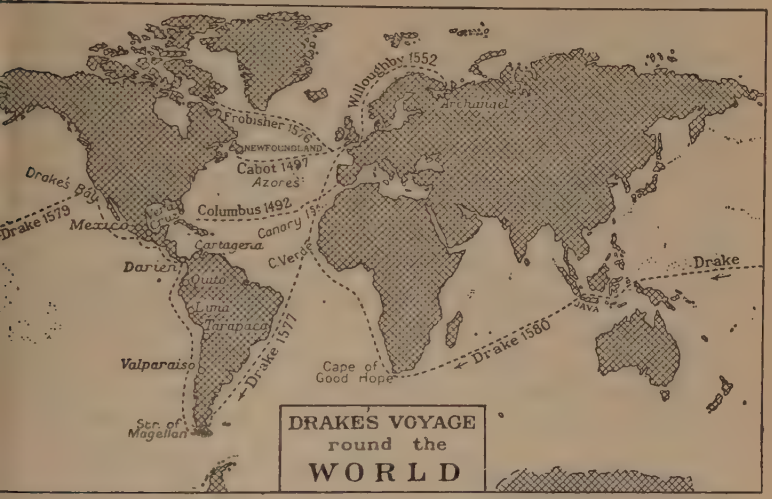
with its rich and romantic shores, was till fifteen years after the accession of Elizabeth known only to Spaniards. No Englishman had penetrated there. In 1573, Francis Drake, who was born in Tavistock, and was brought up in Rye, and who had served under Hawkins at San Juan d'Ulloa in the *Judith*, took an expedition to the West Indies. He landed on the Isthmus of Panama, and penetrated some distance inland.

FRANCIS DRAKE.

Some 'maroons' of the country conducted him to a high ridge on which was a huge tree, with steps cut in it. Drake climbed up, and from this lofty perch saw in the distance the shining waters of the Pacific. His resources, however, did not enable him to go farther that year. One of his captains, John Oxenham, who had likewise climbed the giant tree of Panama, resolved to be the first Englishman to sail on the Pacific. In 1575 he sailed for Panama, landed with his men on the Isthmus, crossed it on foot, cut some timber and built a rough pinnace. With this small craft he launched upon the heaving waters of the mysterious ocean. Two Spanish galleons, laden with silver and gold, sailing from Mexico to Peru, fell a prey to the daring and unexpected freebooter. Elated with success, Oxenham delayed returning to Panama, and then the enemy proved too strong. He was captured by the ships of the Spanish viceroy, and hanged as a pirate at Lima in Peru.

The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake. Drake's wonderful expedition, which proved the weakness of the vast Spanish

Empire, and declared the great oceans open to the English, started in 1577. The story has been written by Francis Pretty, one of Drake's 'gentlemen-at-arms' on the voyage. Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Leicester, and other notable people, took shares in the adventure, the object of which, undoubtedly, was plunder from the Spanish colonies. In 1570 Pope Pius V had, so far as in him lay, outlawed



Elizabeth, and declared that her subjects no longer stood in allegiance to her. Spain was the strong support of the Pope; and although open war did not yet exist between Spain and England, in practice war went on at sea.

'The 15. day of November, in the year of our Lord 1577 Master *Francis Drake*, with a fleet of five ships and barks, and to the number of 164 men, gentlemen and sailors, departed from *Plymouth* giving out his pretended voyage for *Alexandria*.'

(Hakluyt, p. 196.)

Drake was at this time aged 37. His ships consisted of the *Pelican*, 120 tons, the *Elizabeth*, 80 tons, the *Swan*,

50 tons, the *Marigold*, 20 tons. The sailors, of course, had the mariner's compass to steer by, but no charts.

The squadron, although really a private enterprise, sailed under strict discipline. Drake bore the title of general with his crews. The voyage was made by way of Cape Verde, across the Atlantic to South America. Drake's plan was to get to the Pacific without the knowledge of the Spaniards, by the route no Englishman had yet followed, round South America, through the Strait of Magellan. Some prizes were made of Spanish ships on the way across the Atlantic. Coasting along by Patagonia, Drake was able to get fresh water and some provisions from the shore. On one occasion the natives came and danced in a friendly fashion before the crews; and Drake, turning his back to them, suddenly found his cap seized off his head by a native, who immediately ran away. The cap was a round felt one, with a high brim and a gold band; the native got the cap and gave the band to 'his fellow'. Drake, who was a most severe and dignified man, does not seem to have resented the incident.

At Port St. Julian, on the Patagonian coast, it was discovered that a mutiny among some of his men was being arranged by Master Thomas Doughty, his second in command.

'Which when our General saw, although his private affection to Master *Doughty* as he then in the presence of us all sacredly protested, was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Majesty, and of the honour of his country, did more touch him, as indeed it ought, than the private respect of one man. So that the cause being throughly heard, and all things done in good order as near as might be to the course of our laws in *England*, it was concluded that Master *Doughty* should receive punishment according to the quality of the offence. And he, seeing no remedy but patience for himself, desired before his death to receive the communion, which he did at the hands of Master *Fletcher*, our minister, and our General himself accompanied him in that holy action, which being done, and the place of execution made ready, he having embraced our General and taken his leave of all the company, with prayers for the Queen's Majesty and

our realm, in quiet sort laid his head to the block, where he ended his life.' (Hakluyt, p. 205.)

On August 21, 1578, the squadron, reduced to three (for Drake had burned the *Swan*), entered the Strait of Magellan. At this point of the voyage, Drake changed the name of the *Pelican* to the *Golden Hind* (the cognizance of Sir Christopher Hatton). In the Strait great difficulties were encountered.

'The land on both sides is very huge and mountainous; the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderful to look upon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceed them in a strange manner, reaching themselves above their fellows so high that between them did appear three regions of clouds. These mountains are covered with snow. At both the southerly and easterly parts of the Strait there are islands among which the sea hath his indraught into the Straits, even as it hath in the main entrance of the frete.[1] This Strait is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually; the trees seem to stoop with the burden of the weather, and yet are green continually, and many good and sweet herbs do very plentifully grow and increase under them. The breadth of the Strait is in some places a league, in some places two leagues and three leagues, and in some other four leagues; but the narrowest place hath a league over.' (Hakluyt, p. 206.)

By September 6, the squadron was through the Strait, but on the 7th a storm blew the ships 200 leagues out of their course, and the *Marigold* went down with all hands. The *Elizabeth* returned to England, and the *Golden Hind* sailed up the coast of Chile. Entering the port of Valparaiso, Drake found a Spanish ship there, the hatches of which he managed to batten down on the top of the few men who were in it. Then Drake and his men entered the town of Santiago near by, which only consisted of nine households. The inhabitants fled, and the English rifled it, and took the 'silver chalice, two cruets and one altar-cloth' from the church. The ship in Valparaiso harbour yielded a large store of gold and silver. At Coquimbo, where the English landed, they had

[1] Lat. *fretum*.

a skirmish with 500 Spanish soldiers, but only lost one man. At Tarapaca :

'We found by the sea-side a Spaniard lying asleep who had lying by him thirteen bars of silver, which weighed 4,000 ducats Spanish. We took the silver and left the man. Not far from hence, going on land for fresh water we met a Spaniard and an Indian boy driving eight *llamas* or sheep of Peru, which are as big as asses ; every of which sheep had on his back two bags of leather, each bag containing 50 lb. weight of fine silver. So that, bringing both the sheep and their burthen to the ships, we found in all the bags eight hundred weight of silver.' (Hakluyt, p. 210.)

At Lima, where Drake boldly sailed into the harbour, there were twelve Spanish ships, which the English seized and rifled, getting good store of silver and of merchandise. Drake then cut the cables of these ships, and sailed away to intercept a treasure ship, which he heard had left shortly before. The ship was overtaken, part, not all, of its silver seized, and the ship and crew then allowed to pursue their own way. The town of Guatulco in Panama was next ransacked, and certain prisoners whom Drake had taken out of his prizes were left there. It was the custom of Drake to let go all the Spanish ships, after he had overhauled them and taken his choice of the cargo.

By this time the year 1578 had passed. The Spaniards had never expected an enemy in the Pacific, hitherto undisturbed except for the solitary raid of John Oxenham; none of the Pacific ports were fortified. Now, however, the advantage of surprise had passed ; and Drake, if he had returned by the Strait of Magellan, would probably have found a Spanish squadron waiting to intercept him. So he resolved to sail west, the way no Englishman had ever gone, across to the Indian Ocean, and so back to England by the Cape of Good Hope.

Accordingly, the *Golden Hind* sailed up the Californian coast to some place near where is now San Francisco. The English flag was hoisted at this point, as a sign of possession.

Then the westward cruise began. The adventure had been an astonishing success, thanks to the skill and resolution of the general, and to the wonderful courage and endurance of the sailors. Drake's behaviour on board his ship was described by a Spaniard who was taken in one of the prizes.

'The English general . . . is about thirty-five years of age, of small size, with a reddish beard, and is one of the greatest sailors that exist, both from his skill and from his power of commanding. His ship . . . sails well, and has an hundred men, all in the prime of life and as well trained for war as if they were old soldiers of Italy. . . . He treats them with affection and they him with respect. He has with him nine or ten gentlemen . . . who form his council, . . . but he is not bound by their advice, though he may be guided by it. He has no privacy: these of whom I speak all dine at his table. . . . He has all possible luxuries, even to perfumes, many of which he told me were given him by the queen. None of these gentlemen sits down or puts on his hat in his presence without repeated permission.'

The Spaniard concludes his description by saying that Drake dined and supped to the music of violins, and that he had in his ship two draughtsmen, who so carefully mapped the coast that any one could follow it.[1]

The voyage across the Pacific was safely accomplished, and the return journey made by way of Java, the Cape of Good Hope, Sierra Leone. On September 26, 1580, the *Golden Hind*, after a voyage of just under three years, sailed into Plymouth Sound. Queen Elizabeth, who had given advice and encouragement, and had ventured a good deal of her money in the enterprise, visited the ship, and knighted Drake upon his own quarter-deck. The wonderful vessel, which was no bigger than a small coaster, must have suffered from the tremendous voyage. It never sailed again, but was broken up a few years later. A piece of its timber, made into a chair, may still be seen in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Other voyages. Drake's 'Famous Voyage' of 1577–80, as

[1] Don Francisco de Çarate, quoted by J. K. Laughton in his article on 'Drake' in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Hakluyt calls it, opened up the New World to English seamen. In 1585 he took a 'Great Armada', 25 vessels, with 2,300 men, to attack the Spanish Main. The size of the expedition shows the wealth that was then in England, for the fleet was equipped privately. It was a joint-stock adventure, the queen and the great men taking shares: the plunder, when brought back, was to be divided; one-third as prize-money among the officers and crews, two-thirds among those who had provided the capital. The West Indian colonies of Spain were attacked, and treasure secured, but fever prevented the attack which Drake had planned on the Isthmus of Panama.

Another seaman, the studious Humphrey Gilbert, half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, sailed for Newfoundland in 1583. This island, since John Cabot discovered it in 1497, had become a great fishing centre for Spanish, French, and English fishermen. Gilbert conceived the idea of making Newfoundland an English colony, so that land and livelihood could be found for the many Englishmen who, in spite of their strength and energy, seemed unable to live at home, and who were discontented with a humdrum life.

Gilbert received from Queen Elizabeth a grant of whatever lands he might discover in North America, and in June 1583 he sailed from Cawsand Bay, near Plymouth, with five ships. The expedition landed at St. John's, Newfoundland, and took formal possession of the island for the British Crown. The ships next crossed the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Breton, where one vessel sank on a shoal. It was decided to return home, and to fit out another expedition in spring. Off the Azores a dreadful storm arose. Gilbert had insisted upon sailing in the smallest ship, the little 'frigate' *Squirrel*. The *Golden Hind*, the largest ship, tried to keep company. The last time they saw Sir Humphrey Gilbert, he was sitting calmly in the bow of his ship, reading a book, which is believed to have been More's *Utopia*: he

'cried out to us in the *Hind*, so oft as we did approach within hearing "*We are as near to heaven by sea as by land*"; re-

iterating the same speech, well beseeming a soldier, resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was. The same Monday night, about twelve of the clock, or not long after, the frigate being ahead of us in the *Golden Hind*, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment we lost the sight, and withal our watch cried *the General was cast away*, which was too true. For in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the sea.' (Hakluyt, p. 319.)

The war with Spain. Open war between the Governments of England and Spain did not break out till 1588. The wonder was that even a nominal peace had been preserved so long. There were three causes which in particular produced tension between the two Governments and between their peoples: the first cause was religious, the second was maritime, the third was the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands.

ELIZABETH.

As the years of Elizabeth's reign passed by, the people, in general, became more 'Protestant'. The 'Counter Reformation' (p. 246) was bringing back large parts of Europe, chiefly in Germany and Poland, to Catholicism. Refugees came from the Continent to England, and brought strict Protestant doctrines with them. Within the English Church a 'Puritan' party arose, consisting of men who thought the English Church form of service, and the vestments worn by the clergy, too like the system of the Papacy. Puritan views were strongest in the University of Cambridge, where some eminent theologians began to criticize the power of the English Church bishops, and to embrace the view that the Church should be governed by ordinary clergymen and lay elders, under the system known as Presbyterianism. The general result of this feeling was an increasing distaste for the Papacy, and for Spain, which was looked upon as the temporal support, the strong right arm of the Papacy.

Mary, Queen of Scots. The feeling of religious antagonism between England and Spain was complicated by the Scottish problem. Mary was the granddaughter of James IV of Scotland and his wife Queen Margaret. Margaret was the elder sister of Henry VIII. Her granddaughter was accordingly nearest in descent to the English throne, if Queen Elizabeth should die childless. Mary (see p. 232) had been brought up at the court of France as a strict Catholic. She had married the French king, Francis II, who reigned only one year; she returned to Scotland in 1561.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Before Mary's arrival, Scotland had been administered, with the help of French troops, by a Regent, who was the queen-mother, Mary of Lorraine. The Reform movement, under the influence of the stern Calvinist, John Knox, was then at its height, having occurred later than in England. The Reformers rebelled against the French troops; Elizabeth sent help to the Scots, and the French were expelled (Treaty of Edinburgh, 1560).

It was just a year after this that Mary arrived from France, to govern her kingdom. The intervention of Elizabeth, and the Treaty of Edinburgh had prevented Scotland from becoming a French province; but the arrival of Mary was a blow to the Reform movement there, and therefore, indirectly, a danger to the Reformation settlement in England. Mary, however, did not get on well with her Scottish subjects. She married her cousin, Henry Stuart, Earl of Darnley, a good-looking Scottish Catholic with neither brains nor character (1565); but her great favourite was David Riccio, an Italian, one of the singers in her chapel, whom she raised to be her secretary. Darnley and other of the Scottish nobles could not endure this, so they broke into

the Queen's dining-room in Holyrood Palace one night when she and Riccio were at supper, and murdered the favourite (March 9, 1566). Mary, however, got her revenge by allowing her lover, James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, to blow up Darnley, who was lying ill in Kirk o' Field House, near where Edinburgh University now stands (February 1567). Then she let Bothwell carry her off to Dunbar and marry her. This was too much for any people to bear, even in those days of unlicensed manners. In the summer, 1567, they rose in revolt and scattered her troops at Carberry Hill near Edinburgh. She was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, escaped, and was beaten again at Langside, near Glasgow (May 1568). Mary herself was present at the battle, and only escaped by galloping to the Solway, and then taking passage in a fishing-boat to the Cumberland coast. Elizabeth provided her with quarters, and treated her well, until plots began to be formed by Catholics to force Elizabeth from the throne, and to put the Catholic Mary in her place.

The years 1570 to 1588 were full of danger for England. In 1570 Pope Pius V outlawed Elizabeth, so far as the Catholic world was concerned, by declaring her excommunicate, and her subjects released from their allegiance. This practically meant that he looked upon Mary as Queen of England. In 1580 the Jesuits came to England, to reconvert the country, and continued their efforts, although in 1581 their chief preacher, Father Campion, who made no concealment of his mission, was executed as a traitor. In 1586, a plot against Elizabeth's life was discovered, and evidence was found that Mary, almost certainly, was privy to the plot. She was tried and executed at Fotheringay Castle in 1587. Pope Sixtus V immediately proclaimed a crusade against Elizabeth, and Spain answered the call with the Great Armada.

The Netherlands Revolt. The filibustering expeditions of Hawkins and Drake had already nearly forced Spain into war with England. The execution of Mary took away all prospect of a peaceful succession of a Catholic and therefore friendly

queen to the throne of England. Meanwhile, if Spain was to reconquer her revolted Netherland provinces, she must deal drastically with England.

The Netherlands, comprising the modern States of Holland and Belgium, had come through marriage to the royal family of Spain. Since 1519 they had been under Spanish governors. In 1567, the drastic administration of the Duke of Alva produced a revolt among the Netherlanders, which was partly religious, partly political. A great deal of sympathy with the revolt was shown by the English, who justly considered that the Netherlanders were fighting for the religious and civil freedom which was so dear to the English themselves. Officially Elizabeth would give no help to the Revolt, but volunteers were allowed to go and take service against Spain.

ELIZABETHAN ARCHITECTURE.
Barlborough Hall, 1583–1584.

The Netherlanders had equipped a few ships for war, and these cruised among their islands, and occasionally used English ports. In 1572 these 'Sea Beggars', after waiting quietly in Dover port for their opportunity, sailed out and surprised a Spanish squadron which was taking to Antwerp money for the Duke of Alva's army. Following up this success quickly, the 'Beggars' captured the port of Brill on the Island of Voorn, at the mouths of the Meuse and the Rhine.

After this success the Revolt went on with varying fortune, sometimes indeed in so low a state that it was just kept alive by volunteers from England, and money collected in English

churches. The heroic Prince of Orange, William the Silent, in 1574 thought of giving up the struggle and sailing with any Netherlanders that would follow him to America. He resolved, however, to hold out at home, and gradually his fortunes improved. In 1577, Elizabeth made her first official league with the rebels; she advanced £20,000, and gave complete freedom

ASTLEY HALL, LANCASHIRE. Sixteenth century.

to Englishmen to volunteer for service in the ranks of the Netherlanders.

In 1584 the Prince of Orange was assassinated by an agent of Philip of Spain. This was the greatest blow that the Netherlands cause had suffered, and made it certain that, unless England gave more substantial help, the Dutch were bound to succumb. And if Spain conquered the heroic Dutch, England's turn would come next, for the two countries were practically involved in war. So at the end of 1585 Elizabeth, with great reluctance (for she hated supporting rebels, and feared open war), sent the Earl of Leicester (Robert Dudley, brother of Guildford Dudley[1]) with 8,000 men to the Netherlands.

[1] See p. 237.

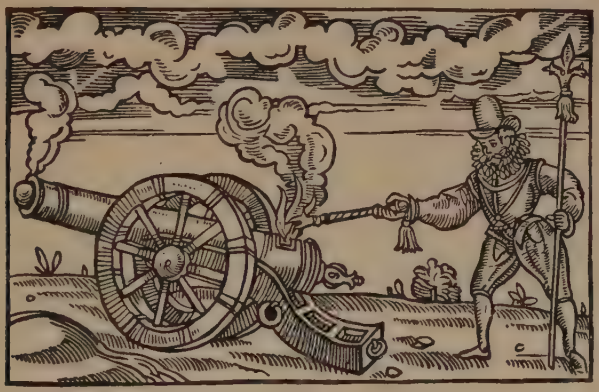
Leicester's expedition. The expedition was not a great success. Leicester knew nothing of generalship, while the Spanish commander-in-chief, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, was one of the first military leaders of the age. The attempt to capture the town of Zutphen, in Guelderland, which was held by the Spaniards, has become famous through the death of the beloved Philip Sidney. The Duke of Parma sent 4,000 men, partly cavalry, but chiefly the famous Spanish infantry, to convoy a train of supply-wagons into the besieged town. Leicester sent 500 of the English mounted volunteers, chiefly young noblemen and country gentlemen, to intercept the convoy. The English riders, with their lances and battle-axes (those mediaeval weapons were still used), rode through the Spanish cavalry, but they could not get at the solid ranks of the musketeers and pikemen (September 1586).

Put vp yo^r Sword.
24.
How in Sheathing his sword with the right hand he must beare the Buckler backeward on his body that he may do it without any impediment

MOTIONS OF SWORD EXERCISE.
From *Mars his Field*, 1595.

Sir Philip Sidney, the brilliant son of a famous Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Sir Henry Sidney, had before the action given the thigh-plates of his armour to a friend, Sir William Pelham. He led three charges through the ranks of the Spanish cavalry; in returning from the last his thigh-bone was shattered by a musket-ball. He kept his seat, and rode back to the English lines; but he died

at Arnheim a month later. He was only thirty-two years of age, and was already in the first rank of great Englishmen as a diplomatist, a soldier, a man of letters. There is no limit to the height this great spirit might have attained even in that age of heroism and genius. His prose romance of *Arcadia*, his Sonnets, his *Defence of Poesiė*, show a delicate taste, a command of English, an appreciation of the beautiful, comparable to that of Keats, another rare genius, whose career was even shorter. Sidney died quietly and



A PIECE OF CANNON. From *Webbe his travailes*, 1590.

contentedly, discoursing with his friend on letters and religion, on poetry and the Bible; he accepted sincerely the immortality of the soul, and held he was going closer to the beauties of nature, of which he himself had sung:

Who hath his fancy pleasèd
With fruits of happy sight,
Let here his eyes be raisèd
On Nature's sweetest light;
A light which doth dissever
And yet unite the eyes,
A light which, dying never,
Is cause the looker dies.

The Great Armada. The intervention of England in the Netherlands struggle made impossible the conquest of the heroic Dutch by Spain. For though without great successes, England was none the less sending men and money, and her ships were blocking the channel, the natural road between Spain and Holland. So, for this among other reasons, Philip equipped the Great Armada of 1588, and sent it against heretic England. The number and tonnage of the Spanish ships, as compared with those of the English, has been greatly exaggerated by some historians. As a matter of fact, the two fleets which fought each other in the famous ten days at the end of July were fairly equal both in *personnel* and in *matériel*.[1] The Great Armada contained about 137 ships, but of these only 69 were of sufficient size and armament to be much good for fighting. The rest were used chiefly for carrying munitions and stores. To meet this force, Lord Howard of Effingham had about 90 ships in all, but in 'principal' or heavy fighting ships he was practically equal. He had five great ships (i.e. over 800 tons), the biggest being the *Triumph*, 1,100 tons, and the *Bear*, 1,000 tons; he had eleven ships of over 400 tons, and six of over 100 tons. Against this fleet, the Spanish admiral, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, had eight great ships, the largest being the *San Juan*, 1,050 tons, and the *San Martin*, 1,000 tons; eight ships of the 'middle sort' (over 400 tons), and three of the lesser sort. The rest of the fighting ships were simply armed merchantmen. The English ships were built with a low forecastle, while the Spanish ships had lofty forecastles; thus ship for ship the Spanish fleet looked more powerful, but it was not really so. In guns too, the fleets were, as far as can be judged, about equal: the English great-ships had each a battery of thirty-eight guns or more, while the Spanish great-ships carried about forty guns; but the total weight of shot fired by an English broadside is calculated to have been considerably heavier than the Spaniards'. The Spanish equipment

[1] See Julian Corbett: *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, vol. ii, chap. vi.

was, however, very scientific and up to date. Guns recently (1919) recovered from sunken Spanish galleons off Tobermory in Mull were found to be breech-loaders.

Sir John Hawkins had been put at the head of the naval administration, and he knew how a ship should be 'found'. When the Armada was ready to sail, Hawkins was able to assure the Secretary Burghley that the English ships in Plymouth Sound were 'in royal and perfect state, feeling the seas no more than if they had been riding at Chatham'.[1] On land, volunteer companies had been started by gentlemen in every county, and thirty thousand men were in training to meet the Spaniards if they landed. An army of sixteen thousand men was mustered at Tilbury to protect London, and Elizabeth herself went down the Thames and made a noble speech to them :

'My loving People, We have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery ; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people.

Let tyrants fear ; I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects, and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God, and for my kingdoms, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust.

I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman ; but I have the heart and stomach of a King, *and of a King of England too* ; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm, to which rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field.'

The Armada, however, was never to reach an English harbour. On May 20, 1588, the sails of the Spanish ships were hoisted and, gracefully filling and swelling to the northern breeze, took the stately Armada down the majestic River

[1] Quoted in Froude's *History of England*, xii. 443.

Tagus. Bad weather delayed it at Ferrol. From there it set out again on July 12. In a classic passage the modern historian of Elizabeth's reign has described the scene :[1]

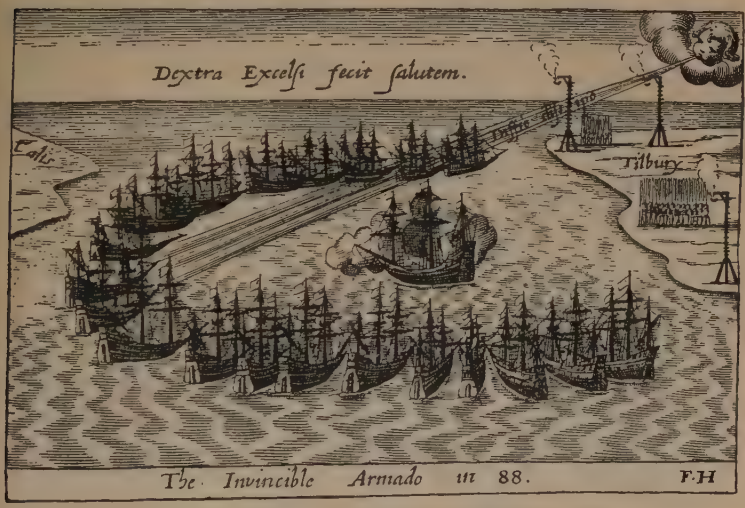
'The scene as the fleet passed out of the harbour must have been singularly beautiful. It was a treacherous interval of real summer. The early sun was lighting the long chain of the Gallician mountains, marking with shadows the cleft defiles and shining softly on the white walls and vineyards of Coruña. The wind was light and falling towards a calm; the great galleons drifted slowly with the tide on the purple water, the long streamers trailing from the trucks, the red crosses, the emblem of the crusade, showing bright upon the hanging sails. The fruit boats were bringing off the last fresh supplies, and the pinnaces hastening to the ships with the last loiterers on shore. Out of thirty thousand men who that morning stood upon the decks of the proud Armada twenty thousand and more were never again to see the hills of Spain. Of the remnant who in two short months crept back ragged and torn, all but a few hundred returned only to die. The Spaniards though a great people were usually over conscious of their greatness, and boasted too loudly of their fame and prowess; but among the soldiers and sailors of the doomed expedition against England, the national vainglory was singularly silent. They were the flower of the country, culled and chosen over the entire Peninsula, and they were going with a modest nobility upon a service which they knew to be dangerous, but which they believed to be peculiarly sacred. Everyone, seaman, officer, and soldier, had confessed and communicated before he went on board. Gambling, swearing, profane language of all kinds had been peremptorily forbidden.'[2]

PHILIP II.
The Bodleian portrait.

[1] Froude, *History of England*, xii. 454–5.

[2] Ibid.

On July 19 the beacons blazing from hill to hill announced along the English coast that the Spanish fleet was at hand. It came just in time; the frugal Queen Elizabeth had cut supplies too fine; there was only provision for one week in the English fleet; the supplies of powder and shot, however, proved to be adequate even for the fierce and continuous fighting which was to come. On July 20 the Spanish ships,



From Carleton, *A Thankfull Remembrance*, 1624.

in crescent formation, sailed into the Channel, on the way to receive Parma's army in the Low Countries. As they passed slowly along with the light breeze that was blowing, the English ships stood out from Plymouth and followed in their wake, just out of shot of cannon.

At dawn on July 21 the English were close by, and the Spaniards expected an action to take place; but it was not such as they looked for. The English ships, it was found, could sail twice as fast, and manœuvre twice as quickly; while their cannon could also be fired and reloaded four times

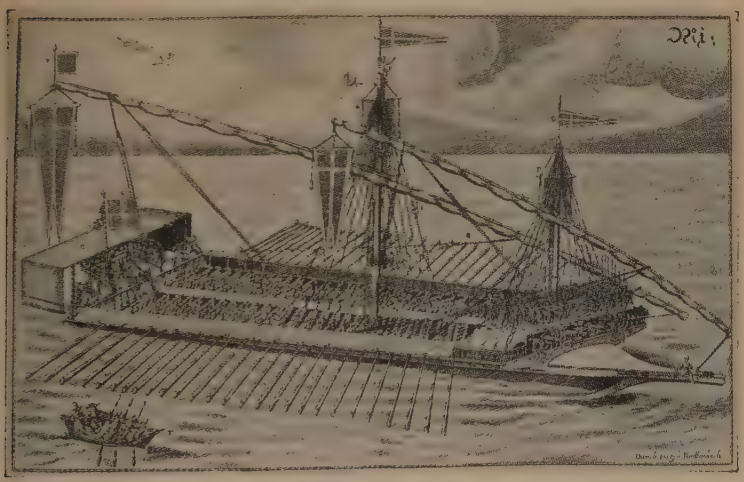
to every single discharge of the Spanish heavy artillery. The Admiral's flagship, *The Ark Royal*, and three others sailed across the track of the Armada, and raked it with three broadsides. A running fight ensued, lasting some hours. The Spanish ships, being to leeward of the English, heeled over, and the decks were tilted, so that their broadsides fired

A GALLEON.

high, and passed over the low English ships. It was a hard fighting but sorely harassed Armada that sailed up the Channel.

The next two days there were intermittent encounters, the Spaniards vainly attempting to come to close quarters with the English, who were short of powder. By Friday, July 26, the fleets were almost clear of the Channel. The Spaniards bore towards Calais, while Lord Howard ran his ships up to Dover, to replenish his powder stocks.

The Armada was sorely battered, and had lost two of its finest ships. Yet by sheer weight and numbers, coupled with the determination shown by its officers and men, it had made its way to Calais roads, and might soon reach Antwerp, where Parma's army was awaiting it. On the night of July 28, however, the English captains tried a daring plan, which, being favoured by the weather, proved a brilliant success.



A GALLEY. From Furttenbach's *Architectura Navalis*, 1629.

Eight of the smaller and less useful vessels of the English fleet, filled with anything that would burn, under a cloudy sky, and with a westward wind, with daring seamen on board, sailed into Calais roads. The sail-ropes were then tied, the helms lashed, and left. The crews made off in small boats. Suddenly, in the darkness of the night, the Spaniards became aware of the terrible blazing ships, sailing down upon them like demons of destruction. The ships of the Armada slipped their cables, and stood out again to sea, not in battle order, but in great confusion, and at dawn found the nimble English

ships ready to harass them again. They had had no time to refit.

The action off Gravelines (July 29). Spread out upon the open sea off Gravelines, the Armada (it had lost its greatest galleon coming out of Calais roads) was brought to bay by the English ships. Drake's squadron, never resting, gave the Spaniards no leisure to array themselves; he approached to within almost a hundred yards of the enemy, so as to be sure of his mark, and poured in shot after shot. The English losses were wonderfully light, owing to the disorganization that was now apparent among the harassed Spanish crews. The remaining three galleons sank; three fine ships fell away, drifting helplessly before the westerly wind to the Flemish coast. The Armada had now little powder left. The remaining ships were becoming scenes of indescribable horror, shambles where the ruined corpses and fragments of brave men lay weltering on the decks. The Spaniards had come to conquer England, but, although they fought with the utmost courage, were being driven off in a tempest of bloodshed. At the end of the day (July 29), the Admiral, Medina Sidonia, gave up the whole design; hopeless of ever taking off Parma's men, still more hopeless of landing them in England, he resolved to make for Spain, with whatever portion of his great fleet he could save. The wind did not favour a return by the western route, and, moreover, the Armada was in no condition to try again the narrow battle-ground of the Channel. So Sidonia gave the signal to hoist sail, stand out to the North Sea, and make for Spain by the northern way round Scotland. Lord Howard and Drake clung to them as long as they could, scarcely believing that the Spaniards were flying, and always hoping they would turn and offer battle. Wounded and lame, the Armada toiled on, ships occasionally falling away and sinking, the rest casting overboard their horses and mules, to save the water that was now so scarce. But the English ships were not provisioned for a voyage, and off the coast of Norfolk the weather grew

bad and scattered them. Off Newcastle Howard and Drake had to go back to the Thames for stores, but the gale completed their work and shattered the Armada. When the gale began, there were still afloat 119 out of the 130 ships which had left Spain less than a fortnight before; but only 52 leaking vessels crawled back to Spanish ports after the terrible journey round the Orkneys and the West of Ireland.

'When the Spanish Armada rode upon our seas to the terror of all Europe, with so much noise and so much assurance of success; it took not the least fisher boat, nor burnt the least cottage, nor so much as touched upon our coast: but being routed in an engagement, was dispersed by a miserable flight, and with frequent storms; and so left England and her sea coasts in an unmoved and undisturbed Peace.'[1]

The last expeditions against Spain. The defeat of the Great Armada not merely saved England from Spain. It gave the English the command of the Channel, and so cut the communication by sea between Spain and her armies in the Netherlands. The Dutch had to continue the struggle for twenty years; but the fighting was desultory and there was no longer any danger that Spain would subdue them. The Dutch themselves became strong upon the sea, and gradually built up a great colonial empire for themselves. Englishmen, too, took more than ever to the sea, to plant a great empire in the West, and from this time our maritime power has steadily increased. The English Government retaliated on Spain, for the sending of the Armada, by dispatching a regular invading force against that country. Fifteen thousand men with 130 ships, commanded by Drake as admiral and Sir John Norris as general, left Plymouth in April, 1589. The troops were landed at Corunna, and captured and sacked 'the lower town'. Embarking again, and sailing farther down the coast, they put to shore again at Peniche, intending to march to Lisbon, in order to encourage a national move-

[1] Bacon's *Character of Queen Elizabeth.*

ment among the Portuguese against their Spanish masters Lisbon was too strongly held, however, and the expeditionary force, after an exciting march through the country, took to the ships again at Cascaes and sailed back to Plymouth where it arrived on July 2. In 1591 another expedition this time purely naval, set forth to intercept the Spanish treasure-ships which came from South America. They were to be met off the Azores ; but when the English squadron numbering 16 ships, under Lord Thomas Howard, were lying off the island of Flores, a pinnace brought news of a Spanish fleet of 53 sail coming against him. So he weighed anchor and set off, judging that his men and ships were in no condition to meet the Spanish fleet. But the Vice-Admiral Richard Grenville, in the *Revenge* (500 tons), a man of fierce and intractable nature, refused to leave at the same time (August 31). That evening he found himself cut off by the 53 ships of Spain, and at once resolved to fight his way through. But the great Spanish ships, towering above the *Revenge* with their huge spreading sails, took the wind away from it, and the English ship lay becalmed among its adversaries. The fight that ensued has been narrated in noble prose by Walter Raleigh, who was Grenville's cousin, and by Tennyson in perhaps the finest battle-poem in the English language. In the end the *Revenge* was captured, and Grenville died of his wounds on board the Spanish flagship, the *San Pablo*.

It was in August 1595 that Drake set forth on his last voyage. For the two previous years he had been member of Parliament for Plymouth. The expedition which he led in 1595 consisted of 27 sail, with Sir John Hawkins as vice-admiral. From the first it had no success. It failed in an attempt on Grand Canary, and again at Porto Rico. Then it made for the Spanish mainland and burnt Nombre de Dios. But when a land march was attempted to the town of Panama the Spaniards were found to be in too great force. Sir John Hawkins had died off Porto Rico. It was now Drake's time

to meet his end. He died off Porto Bello, in his ship the *Defiance*, and his body was put in a leaden coffin and sunk in the sea (Jan. 27, 1596).

> The waves became his winding-sheet ; the waters were his tomb.[1]

Ireland. The English settlement of Ireland had made considerable progress since the days of Henry II and Strongbow, but even in Elizabeth's time Ireland was still a foreign country and the scene of war. The land directly governed by the English 'Deputy' stretched from the neighbourhood of Dundalk on the north to below Dublin on the south, and extended for 30–40 miles inland. The rest of Ireland was indirectly under the English Government, but was chiefly left to the great Irish or Anglo-Irish (often called Anglo-Norman) families, who were supposed to be in the English interest. These were the Fitzgeralds, of whom the elder branch (the Earls of Kildare) were in Leinster, and the younger branch (the Earls of Desmond) were in Munster. The native Irish family of O'Neil was very strong in Ulster. The Butlers (Earls of Ormonde) were a great family in the country between the Kildare and the Desmond Fitzgeralds ; the Burkes, Earls of Clanricarde, were in Connaught. The Reformation, which Henry VIII and Edward VI had tried to enforce in Ireland, at first made some headway, but was set back in Mary's reign. Under Elizabeth, the Irish, except among the English settlers, were completely recovered for the Papacy by the labour of the Jesuits.

At the same time, under Elizabeth, there was a great danger, not merely that Ireland should be entirely lost to the Protestant religion, but that it should become a Spanish province, or an Irish state under the protection of Spain. Between 1558 and 1567 Shane O'Neil, the second Earl of Tyrone, maintained a semi-independent position in the north-east of Ireland, and actually invaded the Pale, but was

[1] Anonymous, from the *Worthies of Devon*, quoted in article by Laughton in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (s. v. 'Drake').

defeated before the town of Dundalk. He was a man o ability and determination, but violent, unscrupulous, an blood-thirsty. In 1567 he was murdered by the Mac Donnells with whom he was at feud.

Shane's death was followed by a very serious rebellio on the part of the Munster Fitz Geralds. In 1579 Pop

Gregory XIII called upon the Irish to rise against the hereti Queen Elizabeth, and the Earl of Desmond rose with all hi men. The war against him was conducted by Arthur Grey fourteenth Baron Grey de Wilton, Lord Deputy of Ireland With him was the poet, Edmund Spenser, as private secretary and Walter Raleigh as a captain of infantry. In 158 a force of 600–700 Spanish and Italian soldiers wer landed at Smerwick on the south-west, in the heart of th Geraldine country ; here they fortified themselves, but wer besieged by Lord Grey, and blockaded towards the sea b

an English squadron. On November 9 they surrendered and, with the exception of the officers who were ransomed, were all put to death. At this time Spain and England were not at war, and the soldiers at Smerwick, although sent with the collusion of the Spanish authorities, were in the eye of the law merely pirates. The war against the Irish, which was fought as a war of extermination, with fire and sword, went on for three years more till Gerald Fitz Gerald, the Earl who had rebelled and submitted so many times, was caught and killed (1583).

The last big rebellion in Elizabeth's time in Ireland was raised by Hugh O'Neil, third Earl of Tyrone, a nephew of Shane. He had been educated in England and had considerably more cultivation than the second Earl, and quite as much guile. He began his rebellion in 1594, was defeated, pardoned, and began again intriguing with Spain. Philip II sent an Armada to help him in 1596, but storms broke up this expedition before any fighting was done. In 1598 Sir Henry Bagnal, who was Marshal of the Queen's forces in Ireland, was defeated and slain on the Blackwater by Hugh O'Neil. The English rule in Ireland seemed almost at an end. In 1599 the Earl of Essex was sent as Deputy by Queen Elizabeth to carry on the war, but he preferred to negotiate a truce with the O'Neil. Returning to England as a disappointed man, he became involved in a plot to displace by force the present councillors of the Queen, and in 1601 he was executed. In Ireland matters would have gone from bad to worse but for the energy of one of Essex's friends, whom the Queen sent to succeed him as Lord Deputy. This was Charles Blount, eighth Baron Mountjoy (later made Earl of Devonshire), who had fought in the wars in the Netherlands, and against the Armada. Mountjoy, receiving adequate forces from England, put a garrison in all the chief towns. A second Spanish expeditionary force, which landed at Kinsale (1601), was blockaded and captured. Everywhere else the rebels were either defeated or starved out, for Mountjoy's garrisons swept the country around. In some districts desperate people

are said to have resorted to cannibalism. By the end o Elizabeth's reign the rebellion was at an end. Hugh O'Nei died in exile at Rome in 1608.

Under Elizabeth Ireland cannot be said to have prospered although a great start was made towards an intellectua revival by the foundation of Trinity College at Dublin, i 1590. The rebellions were crushed without pity, and muc of the country was ruined. This work of destruction, however never had to be done again on a great scale. Although ther were two terrible wars in Ireland in the next century, th country advanced in population and in material prosperit under the Stuarts, particularly in the north, where th plantation of Ulster by Scots (1608–11) made a new land. Th 'plantation policy' was begun by Mary (1557) with the 'shir ing' of Queen's County and King's County. In 1580, the lan confiscated in the Desmond rebellion was offered to Englis gentry, and especially to soldiers, who were to make estate and farms in Munster. Among others who accepted the offe was Edmund Spenser, who took land round Kilcolma Castle (near Cork), where he lived, at intervals, from 1588 t 1598, when the castle was burned during the rebellion o Hugh O'Neil. At Kilcolman Spenser wrote *The Faeri Queene* and also an interesting but depressing *View of th Present State of Ireland.* A more successful colonist wa Walter Raleigh, who acquired an estate at Youghal, an introduced the potato-plant there. In Spenser's eyes, th regeneration of Ireland was still far off, and he sometime wondered whether 'Almighty God hath not yet appointe the time of her reformation, or that he reserveth her in thi unquiet state still, for some secret scourge, which shall by he come unto England' (*View of the Present State of Ireland*).

Religious troubles. In the last half of Elizabeth's reig the attitude of the Queen's Government and of the ecclesias tical authorities became stricter than it had been. Elizabeth desire for religious unity was stronger than ever, but ther were growing up within the Church of England itself opinion

which were at variance with her views and with those of her bishops. There were a number of people who objected to the use of vestments as enjoined in the Book of Common Prayer, which had the authority behind it of the Act of Uniformity of 1559. Further, certain of the clergy had taken to holding private gatherings, where they discussed the Scriptures and to which they admitted laymen as hearers. These meetings, called *prophesyings*, became a kind of religious services, but not according to the way laid down in the Book of Common Prayer.

'In many of our archdeaconries we have an exercise lately begun, which for the most part is called a prophecy or conference, and enacted only for the examination or trial of the diligence of the clergy in their study of holy scriptures. Howbeit such is the thirsty desire of the people in these days to hear the word of God, that they also have, as it were, with zealous violence intruded themselves among them (but as hearers only), to come by more knowledge through their presence at the same . . . and as it is used in some places weekly, in others once in fourteen days, in divers monthly and elsewhere twice a year, so it is a notable spur unto all ministers thereby to apply their books, which otherwise (as in times past) would give themselves to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tippling at the ale-house, shooting of matches and other such-like vanities' (W. Harrison, *Description of England*, 1577).

In 1576 Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of York, was translated by the influence of Lord Burghley (who believed in toleration) to the see of Canterbury, and for a time the prophesyings were allowed to continue. Grindal took great care that they should be conducted soberly and in accordance with Church doctrine. Queen Elizabeth, however, was greatly afraid lest the prophesyings should make schism inside her ecclesiastical system; and by an unparalleled exercise of ecclesiastical authority she procured the 'sequestration' of Grindal in 1577, so that he could fulfil none of the duties of his office. On Grindal's death in 1583, John Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester, was made Archbishop. He revived the Court

of High Commission to inquire into and prosecute offence against the ecclesiastical laws of the country. By this tim a fairly large number of people, both clergy and laity, ha grown quite dissatisfied with the English Church system some wished to have the Church governed by presbyteries (o councils) rather than by bishops ; others, followers of Rober Browne, wished each congregation to be quite independent Neither the Presbyterians nor the Independents received an toleration from Whitgift, and Burghley was constrained i 1584 to write to him:

'I favour no sensual and wilful recusants. But I conclud that, according to my simple judgment, this kind of proceed ing is too much savouring of the Romish inquisition, and i rather a device to seek for offendors than reform any.'

Robert Browne was a graduate of Cambridge (Corpu Christi College), like nearly all the leading Puritans of tha time. Thomas Cartwright, the chief of the Presbyteria nonconformists, was a Cambridge man too (St. John's College Archbishop Grindal himself came from Pembroke Hal Cambridge. Browne and Cartwright suffered exile. Whe Parliament tried to debate ecclesiastical questions or t criticize the Queen's policy regarding the Church, it receive the severest snubs, as in 1593, when she sent to the Speake a message which he delivered thus to the House of Commons 'it was not meant that we should meddle with matters o state, or in causes ecclesiastical (for so her Majesty terme them). . . . her Majesty's present charge and express com mandment is *that no bills touching matters of state, or reform tion in causes ecclesiastical, be exhibited.*'

Resentment against Elizabeth's system of episcopal churc government was increased by the tracts of 'Martin Ma prelate', written between 1589 and 1592 by Puritan ministe who had been deprived of their livings.

Parliamentary Opposition. Yet people submitted to th old Queen's high-handed dealings. Indeed, she always kne just how far she could go. In the last ten years of her reig there were great grumblings against the grant to variou

people—courtiers, generally, like Raleigh—of the sole right to trade in salt, or leather, or gold wire, and so forth. When the Parliament of 1597 tried to stop these monopolies, the Queen sent the Lord Keeper to tell the Commons that her prerogative was 'the choicest flower in her garden and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem'. And she added, she would settle the question of monopolies herself. In 1601, however, the murmurs grew stronger, and Parliament again proposed to abolish the patents. This time Elizabeth saw she must yield freely or by compulsion. She preferred to do it freely and with a charming grace. Calling the Speaker to her, she spoke her heartfelt grief at discovering the abuses of monopolies. 'I cannot express unto you', the Speaker afterwards told the House, 'the apparent indignation of her Majesty towards these abuses.' And she intimated that she would herself at once revoke all grants which could be proved injurious to the country. Thus 'this ferment was suddenly appeased by one of those well-timed concessions by which skilful princes spare themselves the mortification of being overcome'.[1] This was one of her last public actions. The same parliament which criticized monopolies in 1601 passed the great consolidating act regarding Poor Relief. All maimed soldiers, and people too old or too sick to work, were to be provided for in hospitals, and all 'valiant beggars' were to be forced to work.

The end of the reign. Queen Elizabeth died in March 1603. She had ruled in a period of supreme danger and supreme development, when England produced the greatest men of the time, on the sea and in the world of letters. Her character has been described by Sir Francis Bacon, whose father was one of her confidential ministers:

'It is worthy of our observation to consider in what sort of times she flourished. For some ages are so barbarous and ignorant that men have been governed with as much ease as a shepherd manages and drives his sheep. But this princess

[1] Hallam, *The Constitutional History of England*, chap. v.

lived in a most learned and polite age; wherein it required great parts and a high degree of virtue to be excellent. A female government is likewise very often eclipsed by marriage and all the praises and conduct is bestowed upon the husband,

QUEEN ELIZABETH PICNICKING OUT HUNTING.
From Turbervile's *Book of Hunting.*

whilst those who live unmarried have no sharers or partners in their glory. And in this was our queen to be the more commended in that her throne stood upon no other basis than what she herself had erected. She had no brother, no uncle, nor any other of the royal family to partake of her cares or share in her government. But even those whom she did advance to any places of trust were so managed and kept in

such awe that each of them was solicitous how to please her, so that she was always mistress of herself.' [1]

In the affection of her subjects, and the good fortune of her reign, she may be compared with the greatest rulers of any age.

'To all this we may add her outward embellishments; she was tall of stature, well shaped in her body, and had in her face the mixture of sweetness and majesty; and always enjoyed a very sound health. Beside all this she was strong and vigorous to the very last, never experienced the changes of fortune nor the miseries of old age, and at last by an easy and gentle death she obtained that *Euthanasia* which Augustus Caesar was used so passionately to desire.'

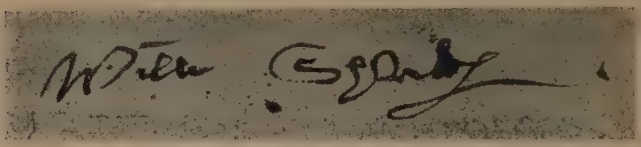
Elizabeth was religious and devout, and her religion prevented the vanity which historians have too freely imputed to her:

'In Religion, Queen Elizabeth was pious and moderate, constant and steady, and a professed enemy to novelty. As for her piety, though the chief strokes of it appeared in the actions and affairs of State, yet some signs of it were to be seen in the course of her life, and her ordinary conversation. She was seldom absent from Divine Service, either in her public or private chapel. She employed much of her time in reading the Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, especially of St. Augustine. She composed some prayers herself upon some occasions, and for some extraordinary purpose. Whenever she mentioned the name of God, even in ordinary discourse, she generally added the title of Creator; and shewed some sort of humility and reverence in her looks and countenance, which I myself have often observed. As for that which some have reported, that she was so far from thinking of her mortality that she could not endure to be told of old age or death, it is absolutely false: since she herself, several years before her death, would frequently with much facetiousness call herself the old woman: and would often discourse about the inscription she had a mind should be upon her tomb: she gave out that she was no lover of glory and pompous titles but only desired her memory might be recorded in a line or two which should very briefly express her name, her virginity, the time of her reign, the reformation of religion and her preservation of the Peace.' [2]

[1] Bacon's *Character of Queen Elizabeth.* [2] Ibid.

Although she died childless, the last of her race, she was able to leave an undisturbed kingdom to the new dynasty of the Stuarts, who, though coming from an alien country, were quietly accepted by the English as their rulers.

Shakespeare. The last ten years of Elizabeth's reign—distinguished as it is throughout for literary brilliancy—are particularly splendid through the great plays of Shakespeare. William Shakespeare was the son of a corn-dealer in Stratford-on-Avon ; the house where he was born is still to be seen in that beautiful old English town. He was educated at the



SHAKESPEARE'S SIGNATURE.

Stratford Grammar School, entered his father's business, married, at the age of 18, Anne Hathaway, and in 1586, being now 22 years old, tramped to London, leaving his wife and family behind him. At London he was drawn towards the career of an actor, and entered the company which performed under the patronage of the Earl of Leicester. In this profession he distinguished himself, and though he is known now as the world's greatest dramatist, he was best known in Elizabeth's reign as a fine actor. When the Globe Theatre was built in Southwark, in 1599, Shakespeare was able to acquire a share in it ; and though the plays which he was writing only brought him in £10–£15 each, he was soon getting from his share in the theatre and other investments about £600 a year. He was able to buy a good house in his native place, Stratford ; to this house he went on visits, and there his wife and family lived. It was not till 1611 that he settled finally at Stratford, where he interested himself in local affairs till his death in 1616.

With *Love's Labour's Lost* Shakespeare's period of play-

writing began in 1591, three years after the victory over the Spanish Armada. Then came the Italian plays, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the *Comedy of Errors*, *Romeo and Juliet*. *Richard II*, perhaps his finest historical play, appeared in 1594, *Richard III* having been written in the previous year. The *Merchant of Venice* and *King John* were being written about the same time; and the beautiful and mysterious 'Sonnets', though

THE GLOBE THEATRE.

not published till James I's reign, were known in this period to Shakespeare's friends. In *Henry IV* (1597) the part of Falstaff so pleased the Queen that she called on him to draw the stout knight again, this time in love. Shakespeare responded with the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Before Queen Elizabeth died he had added *Henry V* to his great series of English historical plays, and had begun on ancient history with *Julius Caesar*; finally in 1602 came *Hamlet*, in which Richard Burbage, the greatest of the Elizabethan actors, took the leading part, while Shakespeare himself acted the Ghost.

Other plays (notably *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *The Tempest*) followed in King James's reign, but the most productive period was under Elizabeth.

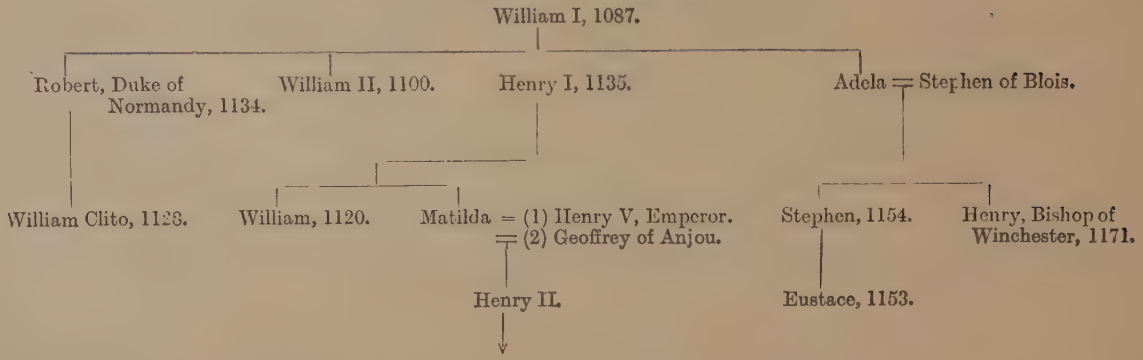
Shakespeare in *Hamlet* says that players are 'the abstract and brief chronicles of the time'. But *his* players are something more. They show the glory of the Elizabethan Age, its adventurousness, its curiosity, its patriotism, its wholesome outdoor life. Shakespeare is even more, however, than a national dramatist: he is a citizen of the world, in whom all nations can recognize their common human nature, and share in the elevation of his feelings, and the profundity of his thoughts.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

(*Dates of death only are given*)

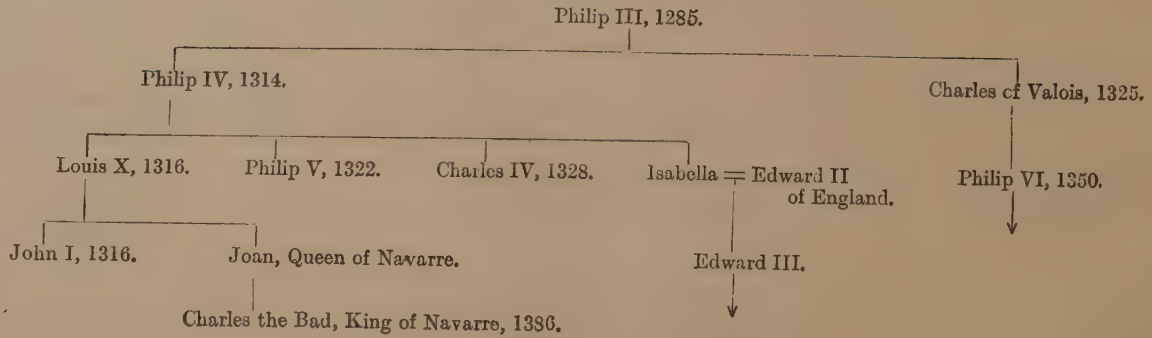
1

THE NORMAN KINGS

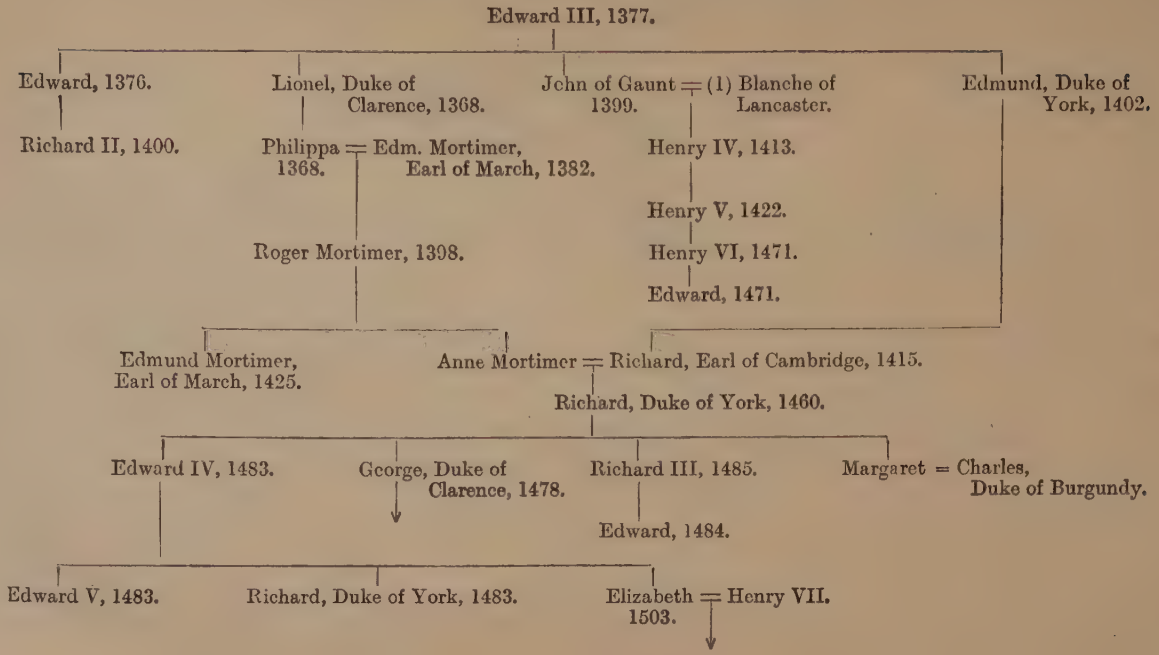


2

THE FRENCH CLAIM OF EDWARD III

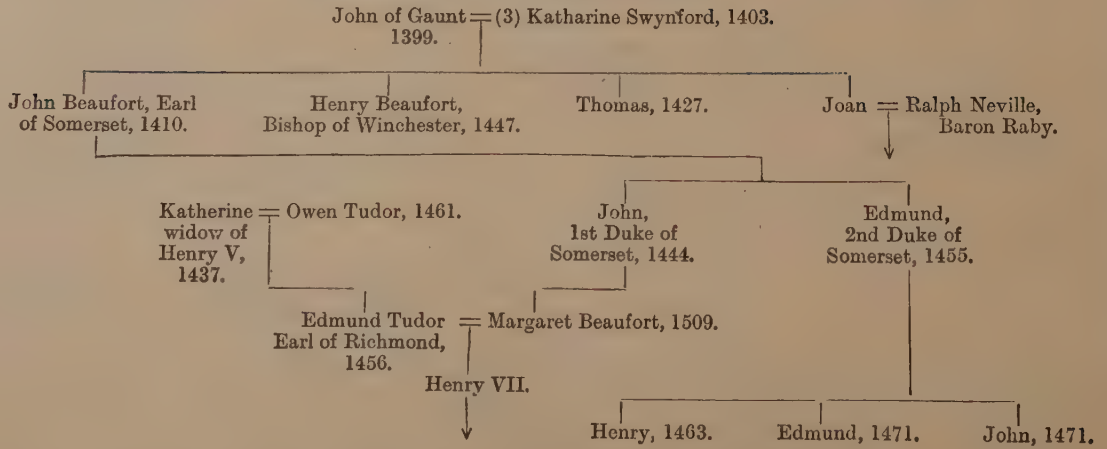


THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK

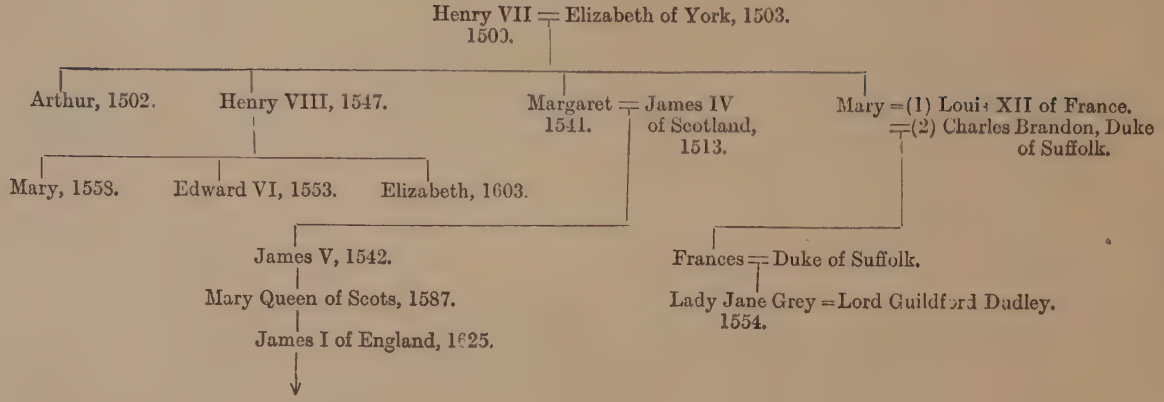


4

THE HOUSE OF BEAUFORT



THE DESCENDANTS OF HENRY VII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